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PACT DEFENSE MINISTERS ARRIVE FOR MEETING 5 DEC

AU051300 Sofia BTA in English 1250 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Sofia, Dec 5 (BTA) -- The following arrived here today to attend the regular sitting of the Committee of the Defence Ministers of the Warsaw Pact states: Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and minister of national defence of the German Democratic Republic; Colonel General Florian Siwicki, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party and minister of national defence of Poland; Colonel General Constantin Olteanu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party and minister of national defence of Romania; Army General Lajos Czinege, minister of defence of Hungary; and Army General Martin Dzur, minister of national defence of Czechoslovakia.

At Sofia Airport they were given a cordial welcome by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of national defence, deputy ministers of the national defence and high-ranking officers of the Bulgarian People's Army.

[Yesterday, Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitri Ustinov, Soviet minister of defense, also arrived in Sofia. On 3 December, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, arrived there.]

Meeting Opens 5 Dec

AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 1620 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Sofia, Dec 5 (BTA) -- The regular sitting of the Committee of the Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact states started in Sofia today.

The sitting is attended by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Bulgaria's minister of defense; Army General Lajos Czinege, Hungary's minister of defence; Army General Heinz Hoffman, minister of national defence of the GDR; Colonel General Florian Siwicki, Poland's minister of national defence; Colonel General Constantin Olteanu, Romania's minister of national defence; the Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov, minister of defence of the USSR; and Czechoslovakia's Minister of National Defence, Army General Martin Dzur.

The sitting is also attended by the Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, the commander-in-chief of the Allied Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, and Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of the Allied Armed Forces headquarters.

The sitting was opened by Army General Dobri Dzhurov.

CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES FOR TALKS 4 DEC

LD042239 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2200 GMT 4 Dec 83

[Text] Cuban Minister of Foreign Affairs Isidoro Malmierca Peoli arrived in Czechoslovakia today on an official friendship visit at the invitation of Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs. The visitor was met at Prague's Ruzyne Airport by Comrade Bohuslav Chnoupek and other representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Talks Begin, Agreement Signed

LD052219 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] In the Cernin Palace in Prague today, the ministers of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia and Cuba, Bohuslav Chnoupek and Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, assessed Czechoslovak-Cuban relations and opportunities for their further development. They noted that all-round relations are developing successfully on the basis of the identical interests of the peoples of the two countries and their firm friendship and alliance. Discussing the current international situation, the ministers underlined the two countries' determination to actively contribute to further strengthening the cohesion and unity of the socialist countries and deepening the coordination of their foreign-political approach. At the same time they expressed deep concern over the further rise of international tension caused by the most reactionary imperialist circles of the United States and some other NATO countries, which have started a new round of the feverish arms race.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and Isidoro Malmierca Peoli condemned the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe and described it as imperialism's overt attempt to upset the military-strategic balance and to achieve military superiority over socialism. They welcomed the Soviet Government's decision and measures on ensuring the security of the Soviet Union and its allies, announced in Comrade Yuriy Andropov's statement of 24 November. The two ministers also resolutely condemned the U.S. armed invasion in Grenada, threats to Cuba, Nicaragua and the national-liberation movement in El Salvador, and interference in the internal affairs of other Latin American countries.

Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek gave a festive dinner today in honor of Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli.

Ministers Bohuslav Chnoupek and Isidoro Malmierca Peoli signed an agreement on cooperation between the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs for 1984-85 in Prague today. Its main purpose and goal is to effectively contribute to the further development of mutual relations of the two states. On the basis of this agreement the representatives of the two ministries will regularly exchange information and views on questions of mutual interest, and coordinate joint progress at international forums.

HUSAK RECEIVES GUINEA-BISSAU'S CABRAL 5 DEC

LD052143 Prague CTK in English 1658 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Prague [no date as received] -- General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Gustav Husak received here Monday member of the Politburo and Permanent Secretary of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) Vasco Cabral, head of the visiting party delegation, which is here at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Vasco Cabral delivered to Gustav Husak a message from General Secretary of the PAIGC Joao Bernardo Vieira.

The representatives of the two parties informed each other of the situation in their countries, the activities and tasks of the parties, and reviewed possibilities of further development of bilateral cooperation. They also exchanged views on international issues.

The officials resolutely condemned the aggressive policy of the imperialist circles, led by the United States, and expressed full support for the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries aimed at a constructive solution of the present international issues.

Gustav Husak expressed the full solidarity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people with the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa against imperialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid and racism, for freedom and independent development.

CHNOUPEK INTERVIEWED ON MISSILES BY SOVIET PAPER

For a TASS report on an interview with CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek on bloc countermeasures to arrival of U.S. missiles in Western Europe published in Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, see the 5 Dec edition of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page F 5. For the full interview text, see the 6 Dec edition, pages F 4-6.

FOJTIK COMMENTS ON MISSILES, CSSR-USSR RELATIONS

LD060012 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] On the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, an exhibition entitled Most Faithful Friends opened today in the Klement Gottwald Museum in Prague. Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, opening the event, stressed that the exhibition recalls an act of historic significance whose exceptional importance, particularly for our people, has been attested by all subsequent developments, both during the war and in the postwar period.

The fraternal ties between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are the rock on which the present and the future of our country is founded, and the source of our justified historical optimism. Hardly anybody can realistically imagine how our national economy would have developed in the past 10 years without the oil, gas, iron ores and other vitally important raw materials we can import from the Soviet Union. The long-term program of all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union frees us from fear of the future.

Further in his speech, Jan Fojtik spoke about the securing of peace, whose chief and most reliable guarantor in the world is the Soviet Union. He stressed that the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states cannot stop at mere peace proposals and initiatives. Under no circumstances can they permit the United States and the NATO countries to gain the military-strategic advantage they are strenuously seeking.

As Jan Fojtik recalled, the Czechoslovak people understand the necessity of the countermeasures ensuing from the siting of medium-range missiles on the territory of the FRG, Great Britain, and several other NATO states. They endorse Yuriy Andropov's statement of 24 November in which he pointed to the necessity of speeding up work to ensure military equilibrium between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. These measures, laid down in agreements between the Governments of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, are enforced steps.

They match the historic experience of our nations, which have learned what evil can result from hesitation, Jan Fojtik emphasized at the opening of the exhibition Most Faithful Friends, which marks the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Cooperation.

FOJTIK IDEOLOGICAL ADDRESS TO SOCIALIST ACADEMY

AU301409 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Report on speech delivered by Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium alternate member and secretary, as head of the CPCZ Central Committee, CSSR Government and CSSR National Front delegation to the Third Congress of the CSSR's Socialist Academy on 27 November in Prague: "In a United Ideolgical Front"]

[Text] Comrade Jan Fojtik opened his statement by appraising the Socialist Academy's work and the businesslike character of its congress deliberations.

Your deliberations, he said, concern issues that are becoming particulary prominent in the present period -- the issues of the socialist education of our working people; of shaping the spiritual life of man in a socialist society; of the system of values characterizing the socialist way of life; and of the contents and forms of life in a socialist society, a society free of exploitation and striving for the people's material and cultural upsurge and for the all-round harmonious development of the human personality.

The Socialist Academy sees the core of its activities in the sphere of world-outlook education, in rearing people in the spirit of the scientific world outlook based on our Marxist-Leninist philosophy. This is, and will be, the foundation of socialist upbringing; of course, the effectiveness of this upbringing depends on the comprehensive approach to educational work, on the combination of world-outlook education and moral and working education.

In speaking of world-outlook education we also keep in mind that part and parcel of this education is aesthetic education, which must on no account be overlooked of underrated -- particularly not in our times, when the sense of beauty and the aesthetic order of things is being threatened by the external influences of various pseudo-cultures and subcultures lacking the genuineness and purity of aesthetic experiences; understandably, formalistic means alone can never produce this experience.

We are, and must be, interested not only in making people profess their allegiance to socialism. It is only in this way that our ideology, the ideology of scientific socialism, can also become their position in life -- a position which does not tolerate any contradiction between thoughts and deeds, between world opinion and morality implemented in practice, between man's public and private behavior. The genuineness of conviction, which cannot succumb to changes of fashion, the firmness of conviction, which is tested and further steeled in time of trails -- that is, for us, one of the highest values which decides the qualities of the new man, the man of socialism.

We often encounter criticism which points to contradictions between the goals of our policy and reality, between our program and the methods used for realizing it, and which thus compromises our policy. We know that such instances are not isolated.

It must be said that no political program can count on having only followers who support it with complete conviction. Even those who back the program from conviction are not quite free of mistakes in its realization. To believe that there must be absolute harmony between ideology and its practical realization means to leave the realm of reality. Ideology itself must prove its strength only in practical life. It is no coincidence that we speak about the Communist Party as a revolutionary vanguard that leads the working masses and wins them for the ideals of socialism and communism. But the very shaping of this vanguard represents one of the most difficult and also most significant historical tasks, the successful mastering of which is the concern of an entire epoch of the revolutionary workers movement and the result of a persistent, long-lasting battle against the enemies of this movement, against its open adversaries, as well as against various brands of revisionists -- rightwingers as well as leftwingers. It is hard to imagine how this process could be successful without Leninism.

The strength of Marxist-Leninist ideology, Comrade Jan Fojtik continued, lies in the fact that it is no utopia, that it is not a doctrine of infallible sectarians, but a scientifically substantiated, realizable theory that is capable of serving the revolutionary transformation of society. It is in this process of changes concerning all spheres of social life, both the material base and the spiritual superstructure, that man himself is transformed and shaped. He is the subject of these changes, but also their product, and the growth of his awareness, which depends on the way he masters the new ideology and its basic ideas, is simultaneously the factor which narrows down the sphere of arbitrariness and increasingly imbues social changes with a strikingly socialist character. Self-evidently, this is true to the extent to which the educational process is bound to practical life, and provided it is not only a matter of education and enlightenment, but also a part of the people's activity and stances.

How could this entire development take place without conflicts or tensions? Or, can socialism be built by people not branded by the past? Karl Marx repeatedly pointed out that, on the very first day following the victorious revolution, the further fate of this revolution would be threatened by inertia, by the perpetuation of the prejudices, traditions, and ideas of the old society, and by the deep-rooted habits based on the egoism of the exploitation system. It was no coincidence that Lenin considered the obstacles connected with the rebirth of workers masses from a down-trodden class of the oppressed into a ruling class -- or, more precisely, a class capable of ruling, of administering public affairs, and of realizing its hegemony in society -- far more difficult than the obstacles accompanying the toppling of the exploiters' power and the enthronement of the people's power. He considered the successful cultivation of a new attitude toward work and social ownership a truly revolutionary and historic task; he did not limit the fulfillment of this task to a brief period, he allotted it a whole epoch of transition from capitalism to communism. He regarded the fate of the revolution as dependent on a successful struggle for shaping man to become capable of liberating himself from the ballast of his ideological legacy and morality, which has been valid for thousands of years under the condition of a desperate struggle for survival -- a battle that was always won by those who were more powerful and ruthless. The traditions of workers solidarity are very young, compared with the period of history preceding them.

Marxism-Leninism proceeds from materialist determinism; subjectivism and voluntarism are alien to it. But the idea of the automatic operation of historical laws is no less alien to it. After all, the nature of every society is determined by the level of the development of its production forces and by the nature of its production relations. The changes in the level of production forces and the nature of production relations coincide with changes in the people's minds and those in the superstructure of society.

Comrade Jan Fojtik then dealt in detail with the topical tasks of the party's ideological work in the present period. He also mentioned the need to counter the enemies' ideological subversion and to build a comprehensive system of counter-propaganda.

Reagan's "crusade" against socialism, against the communist movement and progress, is activating reaction in the entire world. It is reviving the entire ballast of bourgeois theories and concepts that had been overcome by scientific communism and the Marxist-Leninist theory. On the one hand, it is based on the most powerful and dangerous military and economic strength and a colossal propaganda machinery which is fanning a psychological war, spreading ideological subversion against the socialist countries, and disorienting world public opinion; on the other hand, it is based on the enormous force of reactionary traditions and prejudices, of a spiritual obscurantism which it presents as the fruit of Western civilization and culture.

There is probably no attack against our system in which our enemies would not apply simplified notions on the course of the transitory process from capitalism to socialism, and particularly notions on the great ease with which this process takes place -- notions which disregard imperialism's attempts to prevent the victory of socialism in this or that country and to make building it both difficult and complicated; notions which disregard the stubborn, open or concealed, resistance of the overthrown bourgeoisie and its helpers and the inertia of the way of thinking, of the relics and habits of the old exploitating society.

They accuse us of things which we have inherited, without wanting them and against our will, from the bourgeoisie, from the past, which we are striving to overcome but which we cannot get rid of all at once. They accuse us of things which they themselves have in abundance at home, laughing at us for having them, while simultaneously striving to influence us through these very things in the belief that they will corrode our social order through ideological erosion, since this order is so new and fragile, so easily wounded, and only now consolidating its roots. On this they base whole strategies of their fight against communism. Their sallies against us are in fact a riducule of the idols which they themselves are devotedly serving and kow-towing to.

Thus they are constantly reminding us of how "socialist man" -- a term which they stress with appropriate irony -- tends to succumb, for instance, to the consumer concept of socialism and how he tends to squint with envy toward the shop-windows in the capitalist states. As though a petty bourgeois were our own invention; as though the petty bourgeois spirit were not a serious obstacle in building socialism, but the product, albeit an unwanted product, of our policy.

There was a time, and you all can well remember it, when they were enthusing about the thought of alienation under socialism. They even quoted Karl Marx. But they concealed how Marx had characterized alienation primarily as the consequence of exploitation and of the enslavement of work, manifested above all in making a fetish of commodities and in the alienation of people from the state and the institutions of the ruling classes presented as institutions serving the entire society.

The revolutionary transformation of society on the basis of social ownership, and thus also the liquidation of alienation, can only be the result of the activity of a socialist state, of the planned management of the society by the institutions of this state, which is the main tool of the workers class in building socialism and communism.

We are living at a time, Comrade Fojtik then stated, when the world's threatened by a serious and unprecedented danger, the source of which lies in the expansionism of American imperialism and in the ruthlessness with which the representatives of the U.S. military-industrial complex are pursuing their militarist interests. It is obvious that the policy of the present U.S. Government is determined by a pathological hatred of the Soviet Union, of the world socialist community, and of the communist movement. It is obvious that it is determined to recapture the positions of monoplies in the former colonies at any price, and to prevent the world revolutionary process -- which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution and which reflects the people's unbreakable will to have free development and social orders free of any and all forms of oppression -- from continuing.

In recent years, U.S. foreign policy has been fully subordinated to the plans of the militarists and oriented toward feverish armament, toward developing the systems of nuclear, chemical, and biological arms, toward making military use of outer space, and toward aggravating tension in international relations. The United States is foisting this risky policy on the entire so-called Atlantic community, on Japan, and on all regimes in the world which are politically or economically dependent on the United States. The tragedy of Grenada and the events in Lebanon and in the Mideast, and also in other places on various continents, have shown and proven that this is a policy of the ruthless suppression of the peoples' identities and rights, a policy of the "big stick," a policy based on military threats and extortion.

One of the most dangerous steps undertaken by the U.S. militarists is the stationing of intermediate-range, first-strike missiles on territories of the FRG, Great Britain, Italy, and certain other West European countries. The European Continent is at stake.

It is impossible to employ mere wishes, appeals, longings, or pleading requests against such a policy. This kind of policy must be opposed by appropriate measures that ensure a military equilibrium. Such is the naked, even if cruel, truth of our times.

You know that these very days the CPCZ Central Committee has been dealing with these issues, and that it has also approved the accords concluded between our government and the USSR Government for preserving military equilibrium between the Warsaw Pact countries on the one hand, and the NATO states on the other. This decision is adequate in the existing situation; it is inevitable, and it has been understood by our people.

Our people, who will never forget the Munich tragedy, also fully support the declaration made by Yuriy Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium, on 24 November. We know very well that it is impossible to watch unconcerned the dangerous actions of imperialism.

Luckily, today the world is not in imperialism's bondage. The policy of the aggressive forces of imperialism is encountering the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and of the countries of the socialist community; it is encountering the resistance of all freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples, which finds expression in the current powerful anti-war movement.

This strengthens our optimism and the conviction that imperialism will not be able to carry out its militarist plans, that peace will preserved, and that developments will take the path of common sense, and not continue in the spirit of the crazy plans of imperialist armament kings.

CPCZ PRESIDIUM 1984 SOCIOECONOMIC PLAN REPORT

AU011221 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Nov 83 pp 3-5

[Text of the report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the state plan for the economic and social development of the CSSR in 1984, delivered by Svatopluk Potac, federal deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, at the 23 November 1983 session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague]

[Text] Comrades, I have been charged by the Central Committee Presidium with delivering a report on the draft executive state plan for economic and social development in 1984, which the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government discussed recently.

Next year we will be entering the fourth, the penultimate, year of the fulfillment of the 16th CPCZ Congress conclusions and of the realization of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Bearing in mind the change in internal and the deterioration in external economic and international-political conditions and the uncertainties in world developments, the tasks we have set for ourselves are highly demanding, but they are nonetheless realistic. Their fulfillment will call for a concentrated effort by the party and state economic bodies, the revolutionary trade union movement, and other organizations associated in the National Front, and all working people.

Comrade Bilak has explained the great seriousness and complexity of the current international political situation. We realize how this is directly connected with our plans to implement our country's economic and social development tasks. The need to accelerate intensification, improve the efficiency and quality of work, perfect management, and strengthen responsibility and discipline in all sectors comes more clearly to the fore. At the same time the need to further deepen socialist economic integration with the socialist countries, above all with the Soviet Union, is growing.

We Are Achieving Overwhelmingly Positive Results in Demanding Conditions

At the Central Committee session, we addressed ourselves to ensuring the 16th CPCZ Congress line in all the decisive economic sectors. We assessed the consequences of the continuing serious changes in external and internal conditions, and of some quite new realities, to which it was necessary to actively react in economic policy and, eventually, to change our plans somewhat.

Therefore in the plan for the Seventh 5-Year Plan we set a lower dynamism of economic development compared with the tasks of the 16th CPCZ Congress, while ensuring the overall economic equilibrium, paying off a part of our debts in convertible currencies and reducing the share of accumulation in the created national income, above all the volume of investment. Even in these conditions we provided in the plan for the principal objective: the maintenance and improvement of the population's high living standard and its social guarantees.

With raw materials, and other kinds of inputs at a standstill, intensification, greater efficiency, and work quality have become the main basis for economic growth and the creation of resources in the 1981-85 period. This concept is being realized in principle, and some branches of the economy are achieving better results compared with the Seventh 5-Year Plan tasks.

In 1982 we coped with the one-time reduction of the sources of high-grade fuels. For the first time in 10 years our indebtedness in convertible currencies has been reduced even at a time when conditions for exports have continued to deteriorate and when certain capitalist states have applied discriminatory practices. We have maintained equilibrium in our balance of payments with the socialist countries. We have tackled

the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the plan for plant production in the interest of further balanced development by taking economic measures, particularly in the production and consumption of meat in dependence on accessible sources of fodder. At the same time, in order to reduce the impact on certain groups of the population, we have carried out a number of other measures in the social and wage fields, even though the price adjustments are having a temporary impact on the real level of personal consumption.

Coping in principle with all these complex and hitherto unresolved tasks has, in spite of some problems and shortcomings, created the prerequisites for us to be able to begin accelerating in a planned fashion the dynamism of our national economic development in substantially more exacting conditions.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, the Federal Assembly, the CSSR Government and the governments of both republics have paid systematic attention to ensuring the targets and tasks of the plan for economic and social development for the current year. The CPCZ Central Committee resolution of 19 August this year on the main trends in national economic development and the fulfillment of the state plan for the first half of the current year is making a significant contribution to strengthening and broadening the overall good results achieved in developing and fulfilling the plan for the current year and to increasing efforts to resolve serious problems and to weaken negative phenomena and shortcomings. The state-wide aktiv, which was addressed by Comrade Strougal, was connected with this resolution. It was followed by sectoral consultations, attended by members, candidate members, and secretaries of the Central Committee, which concretely and specifically discussed conclusions and measures on the basis of results that are being achieved in individual branches, economic production units, and enterprises. Party, trade union and youth agencies and organizations in regions and districts responsibly discussed the resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and adopted concrete measures to ensure it.

The fulfillment of these measures, together with increased activity of the entire party, already stimulated from the beginning of the year by deliberations and conclusions of the annual membership meetings, and conferences; by the initiative of workers, cooperative farmers, technicians, and other working people; by the development of socialist competition, of the movement of innovators and improvers -- whose contribution we highly value -- have significantly contributed to the positive results achieved this year. Also the better standard of management and the more purposeful implementation of the set of measures are favorably manifesting themselves. Close economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is of great importance for the successful fulfillment of tasks.

On the basis of the development for the first 10 months, we anticipate that in a number of branches the results this year will be better than set by the plan. Above all, the national income, which expresses the overall effectiveness of social labor expended, will increase by roughly 2.2 percent, industrial production by at least 2.6 percent, and construction production by 1.4 percent. Agricultural production will also increase, especially through exceeding the plan of animal production, and that even if the plant production plan is not fulfilled.

The overwhelming majority of enterprises and economic production units, which have been fulfilling and exceeding the planned production tasks, have a share in this overall good development. That must be appreciated. Some of them, however, are fulfilling their tasks unevenly, in an economically undesirable structure, or have not been fulfilling them so far. In these enterprises and economic production units reserves must be mobilized to ensure the planned tasks.

The greater volume of finished goods manufactured has enabled us to exceed exports to the socialist countries, generally ensure equilibrium in the balance of payments, and

increase deliveries to the domestic market. The balance of trade with nonsocialist countries is in surplus at present, although export targets are not being met in terms of value. The volume of investments, particularly in the agriculture sector, in nuclear power plants, and in communications, is being exceeded.

Systematic economic pressure for effectiveness and thrift, material stimulation, and the development of the working people's initiatives have led to reduced production costs, particularly through rationalization of consumption and through conservation of motor and other fuels, energy, metals, and partially by restricting them. This has been manifested in the efforts of managers, work collectives, and the revolutionary trade union movement and has resulted in higher profitability and enabled extra profits and surplus in the net adjusted output. These savings and the continuing structural changes, as well as the desirable pressure for production efficiency, lead to reducing the share of production consumption in the social product by 0.3 percent, a matter that corresponds to the targets of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

In accordance with the concretization of the economic policy for this year, real wages and particularly the real incomes of the population will increase by 2.4 percent, personal consumption by 1.9 percent, and social consumption by 3.4 percent. The market has a better supply of foodstuffs than last year. Supplies of several kinds of industrial goods in public demand will increase. Also some paid services will improve. Many shortcomings still persist regarding deliveries by our manufacturing sector to the domestic market in respect of quality, choice, packaging, and also in the work of retail sector. Many of these shortcomings make our citizens' shopping unnecessarily unpleasant.

Maintaining this year's good results requires that there be no letup in the current efforts in the remaining part of the year. It is necessary to maintain the pace at which the economy has been outstripping planned production and the adjusted net output, especially in all cases in which it is desirable and in which available resources make it possible. We expect managers, party and trade union agencies and organizations to contribute by their activities to creating a demanding atmosphere, to a deepening of positive trends, and to the fulfillment of plans in those enterprises and economic production units that have not yet coped with their tasks.

Comrades, the third year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan will be over shortly. It is precisely the results achieved this year that play the biggest role in the fulfillment of tasks and in the economic development in those 3 years. Despite the ever more complex and more difficult conditions, they correspond in essence to our intentions and objectives.

The development hitherto thus fully affirms the correctness of the economic and social program of the 16th CPCZ Congress, and the realism of the national economic concept set by the 5-year plan. At the same time, it shows that our economy has a great untapped potential that should be mobilized, that we can and will be able to utilize this untapped potential and resolve demanding tasks connected with gradually putting the economy on to the path of intensive development. This is important for our future development, for the realization of a more effective structure of the economy, and at the same time it is a challenge to ranking personnel, party and trade union agencies and organizations, to win all working people for this effort.

The main result of the economic development to date is the fact that we have succeeded in fulfilling the annual plans set by the Seventh 5-Year Plan, in ensuring in essence a smooth and well-balanced national economic development, and that -- even while economic conditions have continued to worsen -- it has not been necessary to correct the 5-year plan. The correctness of giving priority to internal and external equilibrium before the dynamism of development has been proven.

The strengthening of the economic equilibrium and the dynamicsm of economic development have been carried out despite the considerably difficult conditions and despite the existence of considerable reserves in all sectors of the national economy. With more effective management and organizational work, the results could have been even better.

During the 3-year period, the national income will have grown roughly 3.5 percent, industrial production will have increased 6 percent, despite the stagnation of energy and raw material-intensive branches and sectors. The production of the electrotechnical industry will increase more than 22 percent, of general engineering almost 13 percent, of the pharmaceutical industry more than 10 percent, even while the structural plans are being carried out. The production of the timber-processing industry will also increase. Compared with the Sixth 5-Year Plan, annual plant production will increase 6.7 percent, and animal production 4.3 percent. On the basi[illegible] the policy restricting investments, construction production will be 4.8 percent bel[illegible]e 1980 level.

Some remarkable results have been achieved during this period in the development of material production and the intensification of the economy. The demands for energy, raw materials, and for transportation will be reduced, particularly by industry and construction production. The relative reduction of the overall costs constitutes Kcs14 billion. The share of material costs in output will be 3.4 percent lower. The wages for adjusted added value will drop roughly 4.3 percent. These are important factors in the economic activity of economic production units and enterprises, ensuring better profitability, extra profits and the growth of labor productivity from adjusted added value, which will increase by 11 percent in the 3-year period.

On the basis of the growth of production and higher effectiveness achieved in the national economy, personal consumption -- after the drop in 1982 -- will in essence remain at the level existing at the beginning of the 5-year plan, while material social consumption will increase almost 10 percent, and will be considerably higher compared with the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

The faster growth of social consumption, rather than of the national income, reflects the care of society for the needs of man and for ensuring our people's social guarantees even in more difficult conditions of economic development.

In connection with restoring the equilibrium in external economic relations, and with ensuring the general standard of living while social consumption grows faster, accumulation will be reduced, and its share in the used national income will drop this year about 3.8 points compared with 1980.

It is proper to note that positive trends and better results than those planned are prevailing. However, we must concentrate our attention on eliminating all negative phenomena and serious deviations from the plan, which impair the results of our common work. The planned directions for the use of production are affected by the nonfulfillment of the plan for exports to the nonsocialist countries by some enterprises and economic production units, particularly in the engineering, light and wood-processing industries, especially as the result of the nonachievement of the planned export prices and of more difficult sales on foreign markets. On the whole, exports have not been achieving enough profits to cover the rising prices of imports, particularly of fuels and raw materials. This restricts the possibilities of using the created national income for the economy's internal needs and its further development.

Some important problems continue to persist in supplier-consumer relations. They cause difficulties for productions of associated enterprises and impair the smoothness of production and the development of the national economy. Some manufacturers not only are not ensuring the planned needs of consumers, but at the same time are even producing things that are, at variance with the plan, increasing inventories, especially of manufactured products, or that create pressure to exceed the investment plan.

Despite improvements in investments, serious problems persist. Demands for investment are outstripping the realistic possibilities of the economy. We are not succeeding in noticeably cutting construction deadlines, and there is a delay in putting some important projects on stream. Thus far, the measures adopted have not brought any fundamental improvement.

The development of wages and agricultural monetary incomes, this year in particular, is ahead of the Seventh 5-Year Plan target, even though this is partly the result of the planned tasks being exceeded. Higher incomes resulted in the need for a greater variety of goods on the domestic market, the needs of which have not been satisfied as regards a number of products.

Shortcomings in the application of the results of scientific-technical development and the dynamism of innovation processes still do not correspond to the demands of the domestic economy, foreign markets, and the developments in the world. The way to rectify this is to consistently implement the conclusions of the eighth Central Committee session on the accelerated application of the results of science and technology in practice.

There are subjective causes for many of these shortcomings, above all the low standard of management, organizational work and control activity, and the failure to observe the state and planning discipline. The causes of failures and shortcomings must be analysed at all levels of management, in all economic production units, enterprises, plants, and organizations. Ranking economic personnel, actively assisted by party and trade union agencies and organizations, must on that basis adopt and implement the necessary measures to change this unsatisfactory state of affairs. This, together with the extensive mobilization of the working people, is the fundamental prerequisite for the successful realization of the considerably more demanding tasks we will be confronted with next year.

The Concept of Further Accelerating Economic Development in 1984

Comrades, the submitted draft of the 1984 state plan proceeds, above all, from the fulfillment of the Seventh 5-Year Plan to date, from the assessment of the possibilities of a mobilization of our economy's internal reserves, and from conditions that can be foreseen, and of which it can be presumed that they will be in effect in our country and in the world. Its concrete base and orientation is the strategic line of the 16th CPCZ Congress for the intensification of the economy, and of the targets and tasks of the 1981-85 5-Year Plan, which in this way maintains its stability as a basic instrument for management of the economy. It is a plan that ensures our further upward development, and maintains this year's course toward more rapid national economic development.

The main feature of the plan is a strong promotion of intensification, higher efficiency, and a more effective use of production inputs. To this end, greater use will be made, above all, of the results of scientific-technical progress; there will be greater savings of fuels, energy, metals, raw and other materials; the international socialist division of labor will be more widely relied upon, and greater thrift will be asserted in all sectors of the national economy. On this basis and with more rapid dynamism in the creation of resources, the economic equilibrium in the key economic spheres will be strengthened.

The Presidium of the party Central Committee and of the CSSR Government have devoted exceptional attention to the timely preparation of the state plan for economic and social development in 1984. They ordered planning commissions and all central agencies to complete the elaboration of the draft state plan in such a way that in vital sectors of the economy it would be in harmony with the 16th CPCZ Congress directives, and respect the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. This decision was necessary because many

Draft plans submitted by organizations, enterprises, middle-level management components, and in some cases even by ministries, did not -- in their consequences -- ensure the pragmatic tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan or the maintenance of the standard of living and the equilibrium of internal economic relations.

Therefore, in the stage of breaking down the state plan into economic plans, it will be necessary for ranking personnel, together with party and trade union organizations, to adopt necessary measures to ensure all the state plan tasks for the next year.

The plan concept, which is based on intensification and efficiency, enables the growth of the gross national income to overtake the growth of the social product as well as industrial production, which plays a decisive part in creating the social product. This is expressed by a further 0.4 percent reduction of the share of production consumption in the social product.

For the first time in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the increase in real gross national income has to reach 3 percent, which is the top limit of average annual growth determined by the 16th CPCZ Congress. Faster economic growth, together with greater efficiency, shows in the 2.6-percent increase in social labor productivity. It will account for 86 percent of the increase in the national income. This is considerably more than in the preceding years, but somewhat less than the congress directive. This achievement must be ensured by utilizing the untapped potential when working out the economic plans of enterprises and economic production units.

Thus the qualitative factors of development will to a decisive extent be the source of the increase in gross national income, which will total Kcs15.7 billion. This also is the main sphere in which the fight for the successful realization of the demanding targets and objectives of the next year's plan will be carried out.

Almost 50 percent of the increase will be preferentially applied for securing the balance of external economic relations, the payment of credits and interest. This will improve our foreign currency situation. For the national economy's internal needs we are earmarking resources -- for social and personal consumption in particular -- the volume of which will increase by 1.8 percent, while the volume of investments remains unchanged. The international situation also demands that we adequately increase resources for strengthening the country's defense capability.

The main role in the creation of resources is played by industrial production. Its growth will be ensured on the basis of effective structural changes, especially by a rapid development of production in keeping with the state target programs in selected progressive engineering branches, in electronics, sophisticated [kvalifikovana] chemistry, by a higher proportion of new technically advanced products, and by basing the production of processing industry on domestic raw materials.

In the interest of further economic and social development, and in the interest of resolving the urgent tasks of the unified Czechoslovak economy, the emphasis in the Czech Socialist Republic and in the Slovak Socialist Republic will be on making use of their specific natural and economic conditions, their production-technological bases and demographic development. This aim is pursued by the more rapid dynamism in the Slovak Socialist Republic, and hence by the growth of its share in the creation of the national income. Utilizing all possibilities, untapped potential and resources in both republics, is an important precondition for the further successful and proportional development of the Czechoslovak national economy.

The Key Objective of the 16th CPCZ Congress in the Standard of Living Is Being Ensured

Comrades, to ensure the 16th CPCZ Congress conclusions, and in harmony with the envisaged results in the creation of resources and in the growth of effects [efekty],

We expect that personal consumption will grow by 1.5 percent, which in absolute terms is Kcs1 billion more than the Seventh 5-Year Plan target and 2.8 percent more than the growth of social consumption. In this way the key objective of the 16th CPCZ Congress is being realized, and that is to maintain and further improve in the course of the entire Seventh 5-Year Plan our people's standard of living and their social guarantees, dependent on the results of the economy.

The main source of the growth of personal consumption will be the earnings of the population, which will increase by 1.6 percent, and will reach about Kcs400 billion. The average wage in the national economy could amount to more than Kcs2,870 [per month]. It is expected that real incomes and real wages will again increase.

This year's experience demands that wage resources be used more effectively, in such a way as to more markedly stimulate interest in quality work and lead to better performance and to the growth of social work productivity. Ranking economic personnel, together with trade unions and supported by party agencies and organizations, must consistently promote wage differentiation according to real work results, and must even more strongly counteract the persisting egalitarianism, false solidarity, and the "social" approach in the wage policy. One cannot pay for poor work. On the contrary, it is necessary to treat in a preferential way workers and work collectives who are constantly achieving above-average results and turning out better work.

Only such an approach is in full harmony with the socialist principles of remuneration, with social morals and corresponds to the interests of society. Everybody must understand that our society's standard of living depends solely on our work and its results.

We are a country in which one of the fundamental rights of man -- the right to work -- is really guaranteed. Under socialism we regard this to be a matter of course. However, we cannot ignore the fact that sometimes this accomplishment is being misused by job-hoppers and work-shy characters.

One has to fully support the Central Trade Union Council's efforts to make work collectives look for ways of better utilizing work time, putting an end to persistant abuses, and continuing to expand the brigade forms of work and remuneration.

These are important ways of increasing work productivity, which is decisive for the growth of our country's wealth and for ensuring the standard of living. One can increase wages only on the basis of the growth of work productivity and savings in the number of employees. However, the majority of economic production units and enterprises have not thus far been making use of this possibility for a differentiated and more rapid growth of wages.

In the interest of better satisfying citizens' needs, retail turnover next year is to grow by 1.9 percent, which is faster than the growth of monetary incomes. An improvement in the selection on the domestic market will be ensured through the growth of supplies of industrial goods, above all of engineering products, especially of automobiles by 27 percent, color television sets by 64 percent, deep freezers by 33 percent. Also ensured are large deliveries of bicycles, crockery, electronic and other products. Deliveries of exceptional-quality goods will also be increased.

The complementary production of consumer goods in organizations which thus far have not been manufacturing them is important for improving the selection on the domestic market. This complementary production should constitute 1 percent of the organizations' total production. This task must be consistently coordinated and carried out through better cooperation among economic production units, enterprises, and the domestic market. In this respect, one has to appreciate the efforts of general engineering enterprises and of the electronics industry.

A further strengthening of the food market is expected, above all through improving and broadening the range of goods. The efforts of production must therefore concentrate on the manufacture and deliveries of biologically valuable foodstuffs, especially dairy products, fruits, and vegetables. The sales of milk and dairy products should rise by 4.3 percent, cheese by 2.9 percent, and eggs by 3.2 percent. The sales of meat and meat products are being ensured at the current level. It is expected, however, that there will be a further increase in consumption of all kinds of basic foodstuffs, produced above all by small-scale growers, and an increase in their deliveries to the market.

Production and trade are politically responsible for consistently ensuring all tasks connected with satisfying the needs of the population. It is necessary to gradually overcome the existing situation whereby the consumer still has to chase for a certain product that is in demand rather than shop for it. One can concede that difficulties can arise for objective reasons -- an unexpected change in demand, temporary shortage of capacity, and the possibilities of imports, but one cannot tolerate difficulties arising from inflexibility, be they of production or trade, from shortcomings in management, poor assessment of demand, and other subjective causes.

A more decisive step forward must be taken in the development of paid services for the public. Despite partial results, many shortcomings persist in the enterprises of the local economy and in production cooperatives.

National Committees must devote constant care to the development and improvement of services, and in accordance with the conclusions of the sixth session of the Central Committee and the resolutions of the governments, better satisfy the needs of citizens. At the same time, they must ensure a more effective functioning of the entire system of services, be it directly managed enterprises, the cooperative sector, or complementary forms, such as small operations of National Committees, or issuing permits to citizens to provide various services.

An important component of the standard of living is satisfying the needs of the population from social sources, from which one ensures the development of education, health care, physical culture and the entire social sphere, which greatly influence the work qualifications and the living conditions of the people, and indirectly affect the development of the national economy. Recently, proof of the care by the CPCZ and the state for our people's cultural heritage was provided when the restored historical building of the National Theater and the New Stage in Prague was presented on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of its inauguration. In the cultural sphere, further important actions will be realized.

The social consumption of the population will exceed the original target of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. It will amount to Kcs10,800 per capita, which is almost Kcs2,000 more than in 1980.

In education, prerequisites are being created for a gradual realization of the restructuring of the educational system and for improving the standard of skills and qualifications of young experts. It is necessary to ensure fundamental harmony between the training of qualified experts and skilled workers and the needs of the national economy, its priorities, long-term structural changes, and, in particular, the needs arising from shifting the economy to the intensive type of development.

The further broadening and improvement of the quality of health care is being ensured, especially through increasing the number of physicians and nursing personnel in health facilities, and through better equipment. Increasing the overall number of workers in education and health care by 9,000 will enable them to better fulfil their tasks and duties. Thus, compared with 1980, the number of workers in both branches will increase by 45,000. This growth is taking place more than 30 percent faster than the Seventh 5-Year Plan envisaged.

The appropriate agencies and ranking personnel must ensure that the considerable resources expended for the benefit of the nonproduction sphere from social resources are used as effectively as possible, and with maximum cost-efficiency.

Next year it is planned to build 90,000 apartments, which will improve the housing situation of about 300,000 inhabitants. The individual construction of apartments will also be encouraged in the future, but there must be more determined progress in the reconstruction and modernization of the housing fund, its maintenance and in ensuring its comprehensiveness [komplexnost]. The preparation of housing construction is inadequate, and the consequence is fewer apartments ready for habitation than the Seventh 5-Year Plan envisages. Therefore, 7,500 apartment construction starts are expected next year, for completion in 1985. The principle on which the party's Central Committee Presidium places great emphasis -- that civic amenities and all the things that create conditions for satisfactory housing be completed along with the apartments themselves -- must be consistently observed, because it is shortcomings in precisely this area that are often the subject of just criticism by citizens.

Therefore -- at variance with the targets of the Seventh 5-Year Plan -- the volume of comprehensive housing construction is being increased. In view of its social importance, all participants in the construction -- investors, project planners and suppliers -- are required to take effective measures to complete it on time and in good quality.

We consider environmental protection to be an integral part of the standard of living. Almost Kcs2 billion in investments are earmarked for this purpose, and further resources for improving the ecological situation in the most affected population centers, especially in the coal mining basins, in Podkrusnohori, in the Ostrava region, in Prague, in Bratislava, and in the Upper Nitra region. The construction of a desulphurization unit for the 200 mw block of the Tusimice power plant, costing more than Kcs700 million, will be started; the expansion gases generated in Vresova in the Sokolov area will be eliminated; the construction of a joint waste water purification plant in Liptovsky Mikulas, and other projects, will be undertaken.

We must remind everyone in all seriousness that no delay in the construction of environmental protection facilities can be tolerated, nor can the failure to observe planned parameters, or even a benevolent attitude by those agencies and organizations that give in to pressure from departmental or group interests. Ranking personnel must responsibily ensure a comprehensive resolution of these questions and subordinate the decision-making process, investments, and control on all levels of management to them. We cannot and will not back down from this demand.

More Effectively in the Creation of Resources in Production

Production in industry, construction, and agriculture plays a decisive role in the creation of sources of national income. The fundamental prerequisite is that this process of creation must be achieved through effective means and methods, which reliably lead to a marked reduction in the costs of social labor per unit of production, and to high valorization of all resources of our national economy. We all know that these resources are considerable, and that they are not always effectively used. The untapped potential and the possibilities of our national economy are substantially greater than we can record in the plan. The experience acquired from the development and from exceeding goals in a number of economic production units and enterprises this year show these possibilities. One has to mobilize them and incorporate them into the national economic turnover.

For these reasons we regard the planned 2.9-percent dynamism of industrial production to be not only feasible but also exceedable, especially as regards exports. The processing industry is to achieve a distinctly faster pace. There will be a further

standstill, or even a reduction in production in material- and energy-intensive branches and sectors, especially in fuels, metallurgy, crude oil refining, and in some types of construction materials.

The growth of industrial production is directed, above all, at ensuring export goals and at a greater satisfaction of the needs of the population. Deliveries of the industry for export are being increased more than 5 percent in terms of wholesale prices and at least 3 percent in terms of retail prices for the domestic market.

Exports are the key factor that can stimulate the dynamism of the processing industry and create resources for imports needed for the further development of production. Therefore it is necessary that all manufacturers regard effective exports as a priority, that they create the necessary prerequisites for exports, and adapt their production, technology, and standard of products to the current exacting world markets.

The higher rate of economic development is to be achieved with less fuel and energy resources than envisaged by the Seventh 5-Year Plan -- 2.2 million tons less standard fuel -- and with a more than 2-percent lower energy demand in the creation of national income. In this way the plan links up with the results that are being achieved. This, for example, will mean that fuel and energy consumption will be lower in absolute terms this year than it was in 1978, even though it will be partly because of favorable weather. There are no difficulties as regards the supply of brown coal, the extraction of which was 3.8 million tons higher by the end of October compared with last year. The stocks for the winter are the highest in years. The Presidium of the Central Committee and the Federal Government have regularly devoted themselves to the supply of the national economy and of the population with fuels and energy. On this occasion we express our appreciation for the work of miners and the results in the extraction of coal in all coal basins, especially in the North Bohemian and the Sokolov basins, which have actively reacted to the demand of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee for fulfilling and exceeding the coal extraction planned for this year.

In no event, however, can the more favorable situation lead to a slackening of efforts to make thrifty and highly effective use of fuels and energy. This is not a short-terr matter, but a process we count on in all our long-term plans. Central agencies and all economic organizations must make the maximum effort for the consistent realization of the tasks of the state target program -- the rationalization of the consumption and utilization of fuels and energy, for the realization of the results of the social survey, which will also be extended to other spheres of the conservation of materials, especially of crude oil, crude oil products, and cement. We continue to expect the development of the initiative of the working people to lead to even greater savings of fuels and energy, as intended by the conclusions of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

Next year we will produce 77 billion kw of electricity. The entire increase will be achieved through nuclear power plants. Their production will, however, be 3 billion kw hours lower than envisaged in the Seventh 5-Year Plan. In this connection it must be admitted, with criticism, that despite the measures adopted we are not succeeding in ensuring even the deferred deadlines for the construction of the third block in Jaslovske Bohunice and of the first block in Dukovany. The Ministry of Fuel and Energy, together with the other ministries involved and all other participants in the construction must draw the appropriate conclusions from this.

In accordance with the structural intentions of production in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, and with reducing demand for materials and energy in particular, we are considering reducing metallurgical production, not only in 1984, but also in the years thereafter. For this reason the structure of metallurgy products is being altered in the direction of higher quality, with a view to adjusting the final product to the needs of the

economy and a higher valorization of imported raw materials. Within the economy's possibilities, we have earmarked resources for new progressive metallurgy technologies. All consumers of metals must proceed from limited resources, and must therefore consistently ensure the state rationalization program for metal conservation by at least 4.5-5 percent. In this way we are at the same time resolving the reduction of the consumption of fuels, energy, iron ore, and other raw materials and investment resources.

Engineering and electro-engineering make the biggest contribution to boosting the dynamism of economic development, the growth of exports, and to meeting the domestic national economic need for modern and high-performance technology. The domestic market is also becoming increasingly demanding as regards engineering products, especially durable engineering products.

Compared with industrial production growth as a whole, engineering and electro-engineering are to markedly increase their production: engineering by 6.4 percent, electro-engineering by 10.5 percent.

Engineering must fulfill its irreplaceable role in exports, which will increase by 8.1 percent in terms of wholesale prices. These are demanding tasks, which can be ensured through a better cooperation between foreign trade and production, but also through a more consistent resolution of problems in the supplier-consumer relations, which for subjective reasons often restrict export activities. Ranking economic personnel in engineering are well aware of the fierce battles being waged on world markets. To be successful here means reducing costs, improving quality and the technological standard of engineering production, and ensuring better service and spare parts deliveries.

Of paramount importance for capital construction are the binding tasks of deliveries for nuclear power plants, for projects that are to be completed next year, and for projects that are well advanced. For this, suppliers have to create the necessary prerequisites, above all by adapting their assembly capacities and the professional structure of employees.

One of the electro-engineering industry's important tasks is to accelerate the process of utilizing microelectronics in the national economy and to support efforts aimed at reducing energy demand, at achieving better utility parameters for finished engineering products, and at satisfying the demands of the domestic market. These are the decisive ways of fulfilling the conclusions of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and of the CSSR Government, adopted for the role of the electro-engineering industry.

The growth of production in light industry is conditional upon, above all, a better valorization of imported and domestic raw and other materials. In line with the long-term concept, production and foreign trade must strive to stabilize the position of our light industry's products on foreign markets abroad, and to step up the exports of them.

The creation of prerequisites for making available types of goods that are in short supply, for enhancing the market with better quality and fashionable goods -- above all in ready-wear garments, carpets, china and glass -- depends on the extent and quality of the deliveries for the domestic market. This involves tasks whose fulfillment is closely connected with satisfying the needs of consumers. For this reason, production enterprises must give them corresponding attention and care.

Chemical industry production is being increased 2.4 percent through the intensification of the existing capacities and through internal structural changes. It is, in the first place, the production of special chemistry [specialni chemie], that is being increased, especially of pure chemicals, biofactors, ingredients for polymers, but also the production of plastic materials and synthetic resins. This realizes the targets of

the Seventh 5-Year Plan -- to gradually reduce the share of chemical productions that consume large quantities of energy. It will create the prerequisites for the construction of a cracking unit, which will make it possible to process initial raw material more thoroughly.

According to the decision of the Central Committee Presidium, it will also be necessary next year to ensure further savings of crude oil products.

Considerable resources have been invested in the wood-processing industry, with the aim of making more effective use of our raw material base. We cannot be fully satisfied with our results because new capacities have not been adequately utilized, for example the Zilina pulp mill, the Sepap Steti and Bukoza Vranov enterprises, and the production of plywood in Zarnovice. It is high time for the industry ministries, together with the supply ministries and other participants, to finally resolve the unfavorable situation energetically and without delay.

Through the realization of the conclusions arising from the standpoint of the Central Committee Presidium on the situation in the construction industry, there has been an improvement in its performance, although to a certain extent this was due to weather, which favored construction work. We count on maintaining the dynamism of construction production. However, some shortcomings must be eliminated as regards the more rapid realization of structural changes, completion work, comprehensiveness of housing construction, and repairs and maintenance of the housing stock.

The main task of transportation is to effectively and efficiently ensure the transport needs of the national economy, and to further reduce demands placed on transport. Carriers must fulfill rationalization measures much more effectively, including developing advanced transportation systems. Further, it is necessary to reduce the transportation's demands for energy, especially through conservation of motor fuels, where results achieved by some CSAD [Czechoslovak Automobile Transportation] enterprises in freight transportation deserve praise. It is, however, necessary to adopt effective measures, so that services provided in freight, but above all in passenger transportation, correspond to the justified demands of users.

In the communications sectors, we are ensuring the strengthening of the technical base of telecommunications, radiocommunications, and mail services, and improving the reception of television signals. Here too the task is to further improve services for the population.

Agriculture and the food industry play an important role in the stabilization of our national economic development. For 1984, the plan charges agricultural production with tasks that are essentially on the level of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. In accordance with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, this involves above all self-sufficiency in grain production and, further, increasing the overall self-sufficiency in the production of foodstuffs, and achieving harmony between the plant and animal productions through the more rapid development of plant production.

Even though we have achieved some positive results, the development so far does not fully correspond to the demanding plans determined in the Seventh 5-Year Plan. In the 1981-83 period, the overall volume of agricultural production will be exceeded by about Kcs4 billion, while there will be a shortfall in plant production of about Kcs2 billion. Overall results achieved in the individual branches of agricultural production, including this year's harvest of more than 11 million tons of grain, are being weakened by continuing low stability of plant production and inadequate creation of reserves. Without this, agricultural production will not develop smoothly and effectively. With this, understandably, is also connected the necessity of more rapidly overcoming the existing disproportions in the sphere of processing and storage capacities.

The 1984 plan, like this year's, counts on a harvest of 11 million tons of grain, 15 million tons of potatoes, and 290,000 tons of rape. Achieving this level of plant production is the condition for ensuring the planned animal production.

In an effort to maintain the achieved intensity of animal production and to overcome some problems arising from a less favorable structure of bulk fodder, and especially from pronounced inter-regional differences in their production, the Federal Government has decided to increase the subsidy of the central fodder fund by 200,000 tons of grain.

Our agriculture has prerequisites for further increasing animal production. But this can be based on our own sources of fodder only, on consistent rationalization of consumption while keeping an optimum number of farm animals. One has to gradually create in agricultural enterprises reserves of fodder necessary for stabilizing animal production in the coming period. That is also the basic prerequisite for the fulfillment of tasks in the food industry, and especially for improving relations between agriculture and foreign trade.

Both the experience acquired by whole districts and regions and the results of the individual branches of agricultural production show that the plan tasks are feasible. However, certain agricultural plants are not making use of all their possibilities and reserves, which are considerable. This means that we must increase our care for the land fund, reduce losses throughout the production process, be more consistent in realizing the intensification programs in lagging agricultural enterprises, and make more efficient use of scientific-technical knowledge and of the progressive experience of outstanding working collectives.

The evaluation of results achieved by the improved system of the management of agriculture, carried out by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government, shows that, side by side with its positive influence on intensity and efficiency, a number of possibilities for implementing it yet more consistently, and comprehensively, remain unutilized.

We are creating more favorable conditions in investments, particularly in obtaining equipment from the engineering industry. In order to increase agricultural efficiency, capital investment resources over and above those planned must be systematically and consistently aimed toward actions that will ensure more intensive utilization, loss limitation, and improvement in quality and innovation of production. In the food industry they should be oriented toward modernizing the production equipment.

It is up to the supply branches to ensure, in close cooperation with the management of the agro-foodstuff industry, more reliable deliveries corresponding to the needs of intensive development; thoroughness and the necessary level of quality must be assured. This has not been the case up to now. This is also connected with the need to be more rational in allocating, and utilizing more efficiently and economically, the inputs ensured by the plan in agriculture itself.

In the food industry -- its deliveries to the domestic market are to increase 2.6 percent -- it remains our continuing task to ensure that the population is adequately fed. The producers must improve the structure of production and ensure an increasingly better satisfaction of consumer demands in the range of products. The need remains for more effective utilization of raw materials and for production structure adjustments to cover all nutritional needs.

Speedy Implementation of the Results of Research and Development

The basic path toward fulfilling the exacting qualitative tasks of the plan for next year, and also in the following years, is the consistent enforcement of the conclusions adopted by the eighth Central Committee session on a speedier implementation of the

R & D in practice. That is why the plan preparation proceeded from the demand to take additional specific steps to make the contribution made by the R & D become the main goal of all planning and management work.

The state target programs are an important way to realize the scientific-technical development; they are intended to ensure a reduction of production's demands on energy and raw and other materials, and comprehensively ensure the rapid development of advanced products or production sectors in selected branches.

For instance, next year the state target programs set down that production in engineering is to increase almost 13 percent, and that its share in overall production should amount to 8.2 percent, and in electronics programs to almost one third.

The objectives of the Seventh 5-Year Plan in certain government programs are not fully ensured; this applies in particular to the sphere of fuels and energy, to the "Hydraulic Parts and Systems" program, to the "Industrial Robots and Manipulators," as well as the "Biofactors and Their Complements" and "Antibiotics" sub-programs.

The Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government have dealt with the fulfillment of the program for developing the utilization of robots and manipulators; they have adopted measures for stimulating producers and consumers under the aim of achieving a comprehensive use of this new progressive technology and eliminating the shortcomings in the "Biofactors" sub-program.

The ministries and economic production units must pay increased attention to ensuring that the capital goods output of the state plan for technological development is used more effectively in production. We have not yet succeeded in reaching the level envisaged by the Seventh 5-Year Plan because of shortfalls in the technical preparation and planning, because of the delay in putting new production facilities on stream.

The share of technically advanced and prime quality products still does not correspond to the potential of our production and to the needs of our national economy. That is why the government calls for substantially higher production goals of the industrial economic units in the plan preparation.

With the aim of establishing prerequisites for a timely implementation of the conclusions of the Eighth CPCZ Central Committee Session, the plan ensures better conditions for scientific-technical development than was the case in the Seventh 5-Year Plan. The material-technical and working equipment of the research base of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Slovak Academy of Sciences is being reinforced. The same applies to the individual sectors' research base, especially in engineering.

Compared with 1983, the number of employees of the scientific-research base is to increase by 4,200 and will thus amount to more than 186,000 persons. The total volume of noninvestment resources for the development of science and technology will be more than Kcs19 billion. Investments in centrally supervised organizations are expected to amount to Kcs1.3 billion, of which Kcs0.5 billion will be earmarked for the import of modern technical appliances. Expenditures on the development of science and technology account for 4.2 percent of the used national income.

The setting-up of semi-operational facilities [poloprovozy] and prototype workshops is being introduced as a mandatory task of the state plan. For the next year we propose the construction of 14 such facilities worth almost Kcs0.25 billion. All this makes it possible to reinforce the preproduction stages and to speed up the practical application of the results of science and technology as well as innovative processes.

We rightly expect the scientific and research staff, designers, employees of development workshops, technicians, and production organizers to make effective use of these favorable conditions and to increase their efforts so as to take another important step in effecting the economy's intensification.

Improving the Investment Process

The further development of the national economy, structural changes, intensification, and the utilization of the results of scientific-technical development -- all this is closely connected with the preparation and implementation of capital investment.

The demands of the 16th CPCZ Congress on substantially improving the investment process form the foundation of the concept of capital construction, also for the year 1984. The efforts of the management bodies and all participants in construction must be focused on speedily completing ongoing projects and putting them into operation, reducing the number of projects simultaneously under construction, cutting construction deadlines, and bringing about greater cost efficiency in construction in general.

The next year plan counts on the effective contribution of important capacities that are to be put into operation this year. On the one hand, these capacities will contribute to increasing exports and reducing imports. This applies, in particular, to the Paskov pulp mill, the facility for the production of agricultural chemicals of the Duslo Sala enterprise, the cyclohexanone facility of the Chemko Strazske enterprise, and so forth. On the other hand, they will improve the structure and quality of materials and help bring about energy savings. This is the case of the semilight-section mill of the Klement Gottwald New Steel Mill enterprise, the facility for the production of wire cords and hose wires of the Bohumin Iron and Wire Works, the oxygen converter steel plant of the Trinec Iron Works, and other capacities. The capacities of some progressive branches are being expanded, especially in engineering and electrical engineering.

The results of plan fulfillment this year, especially the higher creation of resources, have made it possible to effect some changes in the structure of investments next year. The volume of investments in the fuel-power base is increasing. It accounts for almost 38 percent of all industrial investments. The increased investments in the power sector by almost Kcs2.5 billion, compared with the Seventh 5-Year Plan, are caused by changes in projects and the growth of budgetary expenditures of the nuclear power plants under construction, particularly in Jaslovske Bohunice and Dukovany. Resources earmarked for the modernization and replacement of the machine pool in engineering sectors are being increased by Kcs1 billion. In the interest of achieving greater effects also in the agricultural complex, investments in this complex should increase Kcs4 billion compared with the Seventh 5-Year Plan. This increase will be due to both deliveries of machinery and equipment -- mostly from our own production, especially from the general engineering sector -- and to special investments, such as the construction of silage pits, field roads, reservoirs, orchards, and the like. Experience with the consequences of this year's draught requires that investors and suppliers adopt measures necessary to fulfill the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan in the construction of irrigation facilities. So far, this construction has been lagging behind considerably.

Investment funds for comprehensive housing construction are being increased by Kcs1.3 billion compared with the Seventh 5-Year Plan, in the interest of reinforcing comprehensive housing construction, the construction of public facilities, and the standard of housing and in connection with the increased number of newly built apartments. The volume of investments for special-purpose construction projects supervised by regional national committees is also increasing, with the aim of speeding up the completion of unfinished projects.

The total volume of investments will amount to roughly Kcs150 billion next year and will thus basically remain at this year's level.

We have at our disposal a contingency reserve of Kcs1.7 billion. This reserve is earmarked, above all, for speeding up the application of the results of science and

technology, for the production of highly effective single-purpose machines, and for the import of high-performance machinery on the basis of returnable foreign exchange credits. Investment and hard currency funds earmarked exclusively for the implementation of tasks of the state target programs -- these concern rationalizing the consumption and use of fuels, energy, and metals -- must not be used for other purposes.

To ensure the state target program of fuel and energy savings, new projects worth Kcs1.5 billion are to be started. These projects will include the construction of incinerators, thermal feeders from power stations, and small hydraulic power stations, as well as the reconstruction of furnaces in brickworks.

As regards the category of investments up to Kcs2 million and machinery and equipment not included in the budget, more than Kcs1 billion will be spent on this program.

In keeping with the directives of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government to reduce the number of projects under construction simultaneously, we have taken steps toward further reducing -- compared with the targets of the Seventh 5-Year Plan -- the extent of newly started projects by almost Kcs10 billion, to roughly Kcs46 billion.

The importance of projects such as the nuclear power plants in Mochovce and Temelin, the capacities for nuclear engineering in Plzen, the tractor program, the reconstruction of the sugar refinery in Kopidlno, the capacities for the production of biofactors in Lupca and for the production of pigments in Pardubice, the paraffin plant in Bratislava, and some other projects requires that investors, planners, and suppliers speed up the projects' preparation in terms of blueprints and deliveries, which they failed to do within the set deadlines. The preparation of these projects should be completed in such a way that gradually -- but not later than the beginning of the second quarter of next year -- it should be possible to give them the green light.

Speeding up intensification and achieving greater efficiency requires that we increase the proportion of modernization and reconstruction projects. Although the selection of newly started projects ensures a greater profitability of basic assets and a higher productivity of labor, this proportion is still small. In passing decisions on specific investments, enterprises and economic production units must give preference to modernization projects that contribute to equalizing the balance of payments; improving the utilization of fuels, power, and raw and other materials; increasing deliveries to the domestic market of products that are in short supply; and eliminating bottlenecks in production.

Within the framework of projects stipulated as mandatory by the state plan, a total of 104 facilities should be put into use next year. Of this number, 72 are production facilities and 32 nonproduction facilities. Among the most important of these projects, which will take a significant part in the future economic develpment, are capacities for the extraction of 10 million tons of brown coal, which will replace depleted mines; capacities for electricity production with an output of 905 MW, mainly in nuclear power plants; the rolling mill of the Kraluv Dvur Iron Works in Beroun; the coke-oven battery of the East Slovak Iron Works in Kosice; and the production of undercarriages in the Vagonka Poprad enterprise.

As far as manufacturing is concerned, we will put into operation capacities for the production of printing machinery and machine tools, capacities for the production of car components in the Bratislava automobile works, and capacities for the production of color television screens in the Tesla enterprises in Roznov and Valasske Mezirici.

The plan also envisages the completion of the construction of capacities for the production of thin paper in Hostinne, protein feed in Paskov, printing ink in Hostivar,

technical rubber in Hnusta, and rubber chemicals in Sala. The importance of these capacities for the national economy requires that the implementation of these projects becomes the subject of a constant organized effort and active approach by all work collectives and that the leading workers of the organizations participating in these projects adopt in good time measures ensuring compliance with the set deadlines.

At the same time it is necessary to prepare the investment program for 1985. In detailing the plan for next year and drawing up the investment plan for 1985, all economic production units and enterprises must use the efficiency criteria for the Eighth 5-Year Plan while assessing newly proposed projects. The extent and selection of new projects will be regulated in such a way as to reduce the number of projects simultaneously under construction and to improve the investment process, in accordance with the targets of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

Increasing the Efficiency of External Economic Relations

The 16th CPCZ Congress defined the development of external economic relations as one of the basic national economic priorities. This applies, in particular, to the more active participation of the CSSR in the international division of labor, especially the socialist economic integration, and to the reinforcement of the export capability of the economy.

There is no doubt that in the course of the 5-year plan so far, we have achieved a number of positive results in the sphere of external economic relations. Our economic cooperation and exchange of goods with the countries of the socialist community accounts for the decisive share of our foreign trade. The turnover with the socialist countries is growing at a faster rate than we originally assumed and we constantly maintain either an equalized or an active balance of payments with these countries.

Compared with the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we have exceeded mutual turnover with CEMA member-states by Kcs16 billion in current prices. Next year, turnover with those countries will increase by 9 percent.

Economic cooperation and exchange of goods with the Soviet Union, which is of vital importance for our economic and social development, constitutes the pillar of our external economic relations. The annual turnover with the Soviet Union is increasing by 14 percent in this 5-year plan and this year it will amount to some Kcs135 billion, which are two-thirds of our foreign trade with the socialist countries and 42 percent of our total foreign turnover. Securing the planned tasks in exports to the USSR is a basic prerequisite for ensuring our needs for critical fuel, energy, and raw material resources and for necessary technical equipment.

Purposeful Czechoslovak-Soviet economic cooperation is steadily and successfully expanding in all spheres. This is true, in particular, of the tasks in specialization and production sharing, such as the production of installations for nuclear power plants, the production of chemical equipment, machine tools, electric motors, bearings, computer technology, and so forth.

Next year, specialized production will account for approximately 40 percent of our engineering deliveries. It will be necessary for the specialization and production-sharing agreements to express more distinctly than has been the case so far the need for a more integrated approach to mastering the progressive demands on technological and production innovations.

Our wider participation in joint actions and programs is becoming a characteristic feature of the process of economic integration of the CEMA member-states. These actions and programs include the participation of Czechoslovak enterprises in modernizing some industrial branches in the Soviet Union and our participation in the construction of the combine for extracting and preparing iron ore in Krivoy Rog, which is another joint project of the CEMA member-states.

The recent 37th session of CEMA in Berlin assessed the results of cooperation last year and adopted important new decisions concerning future tasks. Of fundamental importance for the future orientation of our plans will be the documents that are being prepared for economic consultation by CEMA member-states at the highest level. In our plans we must take fully into account the strategic targets of the community, seek the most efficient ways of involving the CSSR in the international division of labor, and assert them more actively than before. Our aim in coordinating the plans will not only be to clarify mutual deliveries but to gradually coordinate the entire economic policy, including questions pertaining to investment policy, the structural rebuilding of the economies, price and fiscal-currency issues, and other problems. The implementation of these plans will yield significant contributions to the long-term development of our economy. This will require the drafting of conceptual solutions at the level of central agencies and an initiative-filled approach of production, foreign trade, and research.

Foreign trade relations with nonsocialist countries proceed from the directive of the 16th CPCZ Congress to restore balance in external economic relations and from the concept of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the aim of which is to increase the export capability of our economy and to make foreign trade more efficient.

As far as exports are concerned, the tasks stipulated by the plan are therefore more demanding than those for this year. Exports to nonsocialist countries, in terms of value, are to increase 4.6 percent. The brunt of this task should be borne by general engineering, which is to increase its exports by 6.9 percent, and by the electronics industry, whose exports should grow by 7.5 percent. Compared with this year, there is also an increase in the export tasks of the woodworking, light, and food industries. In the fuel and power sector, the value of exports will decline, while the export of the metallurgical and chemical industry remains at this year's level.

In this connection we must stress that the level of exports and their efficiency are the main source of reducing our debt in freely convertible currencies.

The policy of debt elimination is not only of international political importance -- Czechoslovakia is among the least indebted countries -- but also of domestic economic importance, in view of the high rates of interest.

Although we realize that, given the difficulty to export, the repayment of our debts reduces our possibilities to import, international political developments and the protracted economic crisis in the capitalist states, as well as their discriminatory approach to the socialist countries, again confirm that the policy of debt elimination is correct and that it corresponds to our fundamental political and economic interests. This policy reduces our dependence on the actions taken by political and financial circles in the capitalist countries. At the same time we stress that we continue to advocate mutually advantageous cooperation and trade with these countries. The policy of restoring external economic balance and eliminating debt in a planned fashion is connected with the level of foreign currency resources obtained through exports and thus determines the limits of our possibilities to import.

The principle is still valid that imports are fully dependent on foreign currency resources obtained through cost-efficient exports and on the possibilities of the balance of payments. This makes imperative a strictly economical handling of all imported raw and industrial materials, limitation of unnecessary and inessential imports, and an efficient use of imported machinery and equipment.

Experience from the work of commissions that have been set up according to a decision of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government shows that our national economy can do without some not-absolutely-essential imports. We require that the state bank continue to consistently assert this concept in its currency-import policy.

If we managed to fully tap the unused potential in this field, foreign currency resources would be released that would make it possible to finance modernization and reconstruction projects and to increase the delivery of goods to the domestic market.

Improving the Standard of Management and the Application of the Set of Measures

The chief prerequisite for a successful implementation of the party's economic policy is a better-quality management.

In connection with their assessment of the current state of our economy and the conditions for its further development, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government analyzed the implementation and the impact of the Set of Measures in the first 2 and 1/2 years of the 5-year plan. On the basis of an in-depth analysis of economic results, we were able to note that practice has confirmed that the principles and premises of the Set of Measures are correct.

However, the analysis has also shown that we have so far failed to make full use of all the possibilities established by the Set of Measures for increasing the efficiency of the reproduction process. Some leading workers subscribe only to those principles that suit them and do not implement the Set of Measures comprehensively and with full intensity in all sectors and in all stages of the reproduction process. Under the concrete conditions of the enterprise subdivisions they supervise, they frequently fail to fully transform the principles of the Set of Measures into practice and into work methods. In particular, the Set of Measures is not consistently brought down to the intra-enterprise subdivisions and an inadequate use is made of khozraschet [cost accounting system based on financial accountability]. Nor have desirable changes taken place in the central sectoral and intersectoral agencies.

An analysis of shortcomings that weaken the positive trends in the development of the national economy shows that subjective reasons prevail. A number of weak spots persists in the management, organization, and control activities.

The mode of thinking and the behavior of some managerial workers do not correspond to the targets that we pursue in economic policy, to the complicated and exacting conditions under which we are implementing the 16th CPCZ Congress conclusions, and to the weighty nature of the tasks of the state plan. We have not completely succeeded in overcoming attitudes that correspond to the system of planning and management characteristic of the stage of the economy's extensive development. Instead of creatively seeking methods and means under conditions of the more emphatic transition to intensification, we are still proceeding along the path of demanding additional resources, investments, and imports without corresponding benefits.

The Set of Measures was adopted as an open program. It will be further developed on the basis of the experiences acquired so far and taking into account the targets of our economic policy in the years to come as well as the expected conditions. A resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government charges us to draw up a program of further work on improving the planned management of the national economy in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The main objective of this program, now in the preparatory stage, is to increase economic pressure and enhance incentives in order to achieve greater efficiency and to speed up the practical application of scientific-technical development.

As of next year, we will apply on a wider basis experiments in those spheres of the economy in which we are not yet achieving the results we need. This applies, especially, to external economic relations, scientific-technical development, and investments.

Designated economic production units will continue to verify the system of more intensive influence on the efficiency of exports. This system consists, primarily, of an economic linkage between production and foreign trade.

In the interest of speeding up the introduction of the results of technical development into production, we will markedly intensify the planning and management of technical development and the economic incentives of employees of the preproduction stages. These incentives will be linked to both the solution of research and development tasks and to their speedy and efficient introduction into production.

In 1984, the development of wages will be regulated in a more consistent fashion. These measures should ensure more effectively than so far that economic organizations earn their means for wages only on the basis of socially useful, efficient, and good quality production and that these means are more closely determined by the economic organizations' results in production and cost efficiency.

We continue to adjust the wholesale prices. The objective of these adjustments, which do not affect retail prices, is to make wholesale prices reflect production costs more accurately. There will be an increase in the wholesale prices of fuel and power resources and some raw materials, as well as an increase in agricultural procurement prices. On the other hand, the wholesale prices of some nonferrous metals, electrotechnical components, and raw materials used in the manufacturing industry will decline. The adjustments of wholesale prices, together with the other instruments of management, including the imposition of consumption limits, are designed to encourage the search for greater cost efficiency by emphasizing the economic effect from fuel, power, and raw material savings. The price policy at the same time responds to the external economic conditions.

Almost one half of the total increase of wholesale prices in the Seventh 5-Year Plan so far is accounted for by the increased prices of imported fuels and raw materials. About one third of the increase is designed to cover the increasing costs of acquiring our own fuel-power resources and raw materials.

An important and very exacting task will be to convert all plans and the tasks ensuing from them to the new wholesale prices. The basic material proportions must not be disturbed and the intentions of the plan must not be weakened. Should this conversion result in a marked deviation from the original plans in some areas, it will be necessary to take steps ensuring that the main proportions of the plan are maintained.

The more demanding tasks in efficiency and the implementation of the Program of Thrift, which the government adopted in 1981, are fully reflected in the sphere of fiscal management. The plan for 1984 envisages a further acceleration in the creation of financial resources. This acceleration should be based, above all, on a relatively rapid reduction of costs, especially material costs, and on a 3.8 percent growth of adjusted added value. The share of total costs and of material costs in output is being reduced by 0.6 percent. Connected with this is the important task of ensuring the planned development of inventories. Their volume has been constantly increasing in the last few years and, in many cases, this increase has been a manifestation of shortcomings in ensuring the planned use of production. Our endeavor to increase efficiency requires that the turnover of inventories in industry and the building industry be accelerated by 2 days.

These requirements are coming urgently to the fore, in view of the tension between financial needs and resources. They should be reflected in an increase in profits by Kcs8 billion, that is, 7.6 percent.

The state's fiscal policy intends to make the conditions for the economic organizations' access to monetary resources even more rigid, with the aim of limiting redistribution

processes in the state budget in relation to enterprises and of reinforcing the khozraschet [cost accounting] principles in the economy. This will be manifested in an increased share of the economic organizations' own financial resources in financing their planned needs. The fulfillment of the planned tasks of fiscal management will determine the balance of the state budget, which is an unchanging objective of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

The CSSR currency plan, too, is aimed at supporting the intentions of the state plan and the state budget. The banks must puruse a differentiated credit policy supporting the main trends of intensification -- especially effective structural changes and a better utilization of the untapped reserves in inventories and in the investment process -- and suppressing manifestations of wasteful and inefficient management.

The Development of the Worker's Initiative -- An Important Source of Successful Plan Fulfillment

The consistent implementation of the targets of the 16th CPCZ Congress is contingent on the development of a broad-based initiative and work commitment of collectives and individuals. The attitude of our working people to the needs of society was graphically manifested in the scope of the movement of pledges in honor of the 35th anniversary of Great February and other important events; in the social inspection of the use of fuels, power, and propellants; and in the implementation of the resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium of this August.

The tasks of the plan place even greater demands on the organization, orientation, and development of socialist competition and work initiative. This requires that enterprises and plants establish conditions for applying the most effective forms of socialist competition, the aim of which must be an improved fulfillment of the qualitative indices of the plan. We are interested, above all, in a more rapid growth of labor productivity, in improving the quality of products and the utilization of production assets, exposing unused potentials, and speeding up R & D progress in all sectors of economic activity. Managers, from directors on down to foremen, must play a bigger role in developing socialist competition than has been the case so far.

Among the most important creative forms of initiative are the comprehensive rationalization brigades, whose role in developing cooperation between the scientific-technological personnel, workers, and technicians and in flexibly introducing R & D results into production was emphasized by the eighth CPCZ Central Committee session. The management, together with trade unions, must pay systematic care and attention to the development of activity of these brigades.

The movement of improvers and inventors represents a significant contribution to our economy; they are becoming systematically more active and their circle is expanding. We want to and we must continue to support this movement in every way; we must establish favorable conditions for it to develop and, above all, we must insist that large enterprises complete building up the bases for providing them with technical, economic, legal, and other assistance. We must disseminate the best experience far better than has been the case so far.

Counterplanning enables the working collectives to broadly participate in preparing the plan, in revealing reserves, and in adopting more exacting tasks. This method is gradually gaining roots, and it must be the object of the fullest attention of the leading staff of economic organizations. The joint session of the CSSR Government Presidium and the Secretariat of the Central Trade Union Council appraised the current experience and agreed that the leading economic staff, together with the trade union bodies and organizations, should make use of counterplanning for ensuring the all-social needs and priorities, while consistently adhering to the conditions of material incentives for those enterprises that propose to make the planned tasks more progressive.

The plans, tasks, and goals for the next year are most exacting; they demand the conscious commitment of the management, workers, members of cooperatives, and the technical personnel -- that is, of all the working people. The greater the scope of our plans, of our production goals, as V.I. Lenin used to stress, the more people must participate in the fulfillment of these tasks.

The Fulfillment of the Main Tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and the Preparation of the Transition for the Period After 1985

The fulfillment of the tasks planned for next year is the basic prerequisite for our successful entry into the final year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, which will determine the fulfillment of the economic and social program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and that of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. In this connection we must again recall that we will be faced by substantially more demanding tasks than in the preceding years of this 5-year plan.

In preparing the 1985 plan at all levels of economic management, it is necessary to proceed from the targets and tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and to elaborate well ahead of time and with greater consistency the measures for further speeding up our economic development -- particularly in industry, and in building and agricultural production, as well as measures for minimizing deviations from the tasks of the 5-year plan in plant production, in exports to nonsocialist countries, in the development of wages, and in the growth of social labor productivity. Since everyone knows the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, it is possible to start working out the basic pragmatic tasks and problems in time, so as to ensure the desirable efficiency; we must not put off work connected with plan preparations for 1985 until the end of the deadlines that have been approved.

In view of the key significance of the capital construction plan and of the plan for developing science and technology for our long-term development, we consider it necessary to elaborate the orientation of capital construction and of scientific-technical development for the year 1985 and later, and to discuss it in party and government bodies during the second quarter of next year.

The current, desirable trend of the economic development must not only be maintained and consolidated during the next 2 years, it must also be further developed.

As part of preparations for the Eighth 5-Year Plan, basic concepts are being worked out on the long-term plan of the CSSR's economic and social advance up to the year 1995, and we are also working on the comprehensive forecast of scientific-technical, economic, and social development up to the year 2000. These are very exacting tasks, which are significant from both the political and the national economic view and will have to be ensured as part of preparations for our party's 17 congress.

Comrades, in the first 3 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan we did a lot to adjust our economy to the new and more exacting conditions and to develop the intensification process. In discussing the draft of the 1984 state plan, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government stressed that we must approach the elaboration of this plan for the economic plans of economic production units and enterprises in the awareness of the high political responsibility for the fulfillment of the 16th CPCZ Congress conclusions.

That is why we consider it imperative to orient the work of economic bodies, in collaboration with the party and trade union bodies and organizations in all working places, toward a creative and enterprising elaboration of the plan, above all in the key and risk-involving spheres, and also to orient the realization of the plan toward the following plans and main tasks:

-- ensuring the growth of the intensification of social production through a permanent reduction of energy, raw-material, investment, wages, and transport demands of the national economy;

-- improving the quality of products and raising the percentage of advanced products with high technical-economic parameters, and toward accelerating the rate of innovations and of desirable structural changes in production;

-- fulfilling the export tasks and achieving greater efficiency in foreign trade, primarily by improving exports, at the same time special emphasis must be placed on ensuring exports to the USSR and to nonsocialist countries;

-- achieving harmony between the production programs and the socially desirable needs in all branches and sectors of production, and reacting more flexibly to changes in the development of demand on domestic and foreign markets;

-- fulfilling the tasks in plant production and making better use of feed resources for further intensifying animal production and improving the ratio between the dynamics of plant production and that of animal production;

-- adhering to the planned structure of investments and to the volume of work and of deliveries; ensuring a maximum concentration of facilities on priority construction projects; and consolidating planning discipline both in the preparation and execution of capital construction, as well as in inaugurating new facilities for operation;

-- consistently realizing the state wages policy, so that the wages correspond to the amount and quality of the work done and so that they lead to a more rapid growth of social labor productivity; and

-- further improving the situation on the domestic market by means of deliveries of a wider range of food products and of industrial consumer goods that are in demand.

Only a comprehensive fulfillment of the targets and tasks of the 1984 state plan will ensure the living standards and social guarantees envisaged by the plan. A necessary condition for a successful realization of the plan is improvement of the standards of management and organizational work and the creative and comprehensive implementation of the principles of the Set of Measures.

Comrades, after today's session of our Central Committee, the concretization of the 16th CPCZ Congress conclusions for next year and the ensurance of tasks of the state plan will become the main contents of deliberations by the regional party bodies and by the members' meetings in basic party organizations at the beginning of 1984.

These party deliberations must result in a purposeful, unified, and coordinated course of all bodies and organizations in the elaboration and ensurance of the tasks of the fourth year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, as well as in the mobilization of the working people for an active and enterprising task fulfillment by whole working collectives and by individuals. For this it is necessary to improve work standards in social organizations, above all in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the Socialist Youth Union. They must actively contribute developing socialist competition, which must be particularly oriented toward qualitative indexes and toward creating the best possible conditions for fulfilling the plans and overfulfilling them, as is desirable. In this connection it is necessary to devote maximum attention to elaborating the plan down to the individual working places, so as to ensure that every member of a working collective knows the tasks of his sector, and also his own specific share in ensuring them.

Practice shows us that it is necessary to disseminate the experience of those party bodies and organizations that have successfully realized the conclusions adopted for fulfilling our economic tasks, have determined the personal responsibility for the ensurance of these tasks, and have regularly checked their fulfillment.

The party organizations must be more principle-minded in dealing with the activity of leading economic staff and with their approach to the ensurance of tasks, because the demands placed on them will be systematically increased. This must be the basis of cadre work and of evaluations of the leading staff; the results that are being achieved by the collectives which they lead must more than ever before be the criterion of their evaluation.

Comrades, the results achieved in realizing the 16th congress conclusions of our party and the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan commit us to increase our working effort in the remaining 2 years, in the awareness that in many respect we are determining today the possibilities of our society's future economic and social development.

We are aiming at ensuring and improving the people's living standards and at consolidating their social guarantees. The path toward this leads via honest and engaged common work.

We are convinced that the absolute majority of our working people understand the present exacting tasks as expressed in the state plan of economic and social development for 1984; and that each and every one of us will contribute to the successful fulfillment of these tasks by his honest, good, and enterprising work.

JOINT SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE WITH USSR MEETS

Schuerer, Kostandov Lead Groups

LD052035 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1140 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 5 Dec (ADN) -- The 33d session of the GDR-USSR Joint Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation began in Berlin on Monday. It is attended by government delegations of the two countries. They are headed by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Committee; and Leonid Kostandov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

At the center of the discussions, which will last several days, are measures for the realization of the extensive agreements concluded between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State: and Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in May of this year and the resolutions of the 37th CEMA session. They are of great importance for the further dynamic development of the two countries' national economies and for the fight for the preservation and safeguarding of peace, [passage indistinct] (?word will concentrate on) adjusting economic and scientific-technological relations still more comprehensively to the requirements of intensification. The commission will also discuss proposals concerning the utilization of opportunities and reserves of the two national economies still more effectively in order to use existing raw materials, stock them more economically, and process them more efficiently with the help of new scientific-technological solutions and deepened production cooperation. Closer cooperation in the areas of heavy engineering and vehicle construction, metallurgy and the chemical industry will be discussed.

The 33d session will also deal with still broader cooperation in food and consumer goods production. Agreements will be prepared with this aim. They are directed primarily at mutual support in the reequipping, rationalization, and intensification of enterprises or enterprise departments, and provide for the supply of complete plants, equipment, and machinery.

The examination of previously-concluded agreements and fact-finding tours of combines and enterprises are also on the agenda.

Honecker Receives Kostandov

LD060116 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1828 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 5 Dec (ADN) -- The general secretary of the SED Central Committee chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, on Monday received member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Leonid Kostandov, who is in Berlin as the head of the Soviet Government delegation to the 33d meeting of the Joint Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the GDR and USSR.

Leonid Kostandov conveyed fraternal greetings from General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Yuriy Andropov and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov, which were very cordially reciprocated.

The two sides held a broad exchange of views on ways and directions of future economic and scientific-technological cooperation up until 1990 and beyond that to the year 2000.

They fully agreed in stating that it is important, in view of the aggravation of the international situation caused by the U.S. Administration and some NATO countries, to further consolidate the fraternal alliance between the SED and the CPSU, the GDR and the USSR. Both countries will continue in the future to make every effort to avert a nuclear inferno and safeguard peace.

It is more necessary than ever to make joint use of the advantages of socialist planned economy by coordinating even more closely economic policy, which is geared to intensifying and accelerating the advance of science and technology in order to achieve a high degree of economic efficiency and to strengthen economic power.

Erich Honecker stressed in this respect the great responsibility of the GDR-USSR joint government commission. It is of great importance that its work always be aimed at finding new ways and opportunities for combining the two countries' potentials, as has been demonstrated by over 190 existing agreements. Erich Honecker stressed in this respect the agreements concluded with Yuriy Andropov during the official friendship visit to the USSR by a GDR party and state delegation last May.

Leonid Kostandov noted that the USSR will do everything possible to deepen the mutually useful cooperation in science, technology, and production. The impending coordination of the plans for the period 1986-1990 and beyond should be used by the two countries' planning organs and ministries to increase the stability and longterm nature of the division of labor, specialization, and cooperation. It is important at the same time to develop to an increasingly greater degree the combination of the economic and scientific potentials of the USSR and GDR.

They agreed in stressing that the solid unity in political views and agreement on basic economic goals between the two countries are a decisive guarantee for further successes. The continued development of economic relations between the GDR and USSR, in accordance with the requirements of intensification, will help to increase productivity and equality and considerably improve the cost-benefit ratio. Evidence of this are the new agreements on cooperation in the food industry, consumer goods production, and the chemical and metallurgical industries, which were dealt with at the 33d session of the GDR-USSR joint government commission.

Erich Honecker and Leonid Kostandov expressed their firm certainty that dynamic development of economic relations, planned between the GDR and USSR on a long-term basis, represents an important contribution toward economically strengthening the socialist community.

Present at the discussion, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and complete agreement on all issues, were: Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; as well as the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassadors of the two countries, Vyacheslav Kochemasaov, and Egon Winkelmann.

SOVIET ARMS DRIVE REPORTEDLY CUTS STEEL SUPPLY

LD031829 Hamburg DPA in German 1707 GMT 3 Dec 83

[Text] Hamburg, 3 Dec (DPA) -- According to the Sunday newspaper BILD AM SONNTAG, the GDR is currently trying "by all possible means" to achieve a new DM 1-billion credit, to be able to buy, in particular, steel in the FRG. The paper cites information from the economist Werner Obst, a former departmental head in the office of the GDR Council of Ministers, who came to the West in 1969.

According to this information, the Soviet Union, because of its own arms drive, can no longer keep up promised supplies of steel to the GDR. East Berlin is short five million metric tons -- above all for the important machine engineering industry.

MITTAG RECEIVES CDU POLITICIAN, FRG ENVOY

LD051133 Hamburg DPA in German 1012 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] East Berlin, 5 Dec (DPA) -- CDU politician Walther Leisler Kiep had a 1-hour talk today in East Berlin with Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member responsible for economic affairs. Hans Otto Braeutigam, head of the FRG's permanent mission in the GDR, also took part in the talk. According to a spokesman for the mission, issues related to cooperation between the two German states against the background of the current international situation were discussed in the talk. It was Kiep's fourth talk with Mittag since the change of government in Bonn in October last year. The meeting took place at the end of a private visit to the GDR by Kiep.

CZYREK-LED PRON DELEGATION ARRIVES 5 DEC

LD051041 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0949 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 5 Dec (ADN) -- A delegation of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) of the Polish People's Republic arrived in Berlin today for a visit lasting several days. It has been invited by Prof Dr Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front. The deputation is headed by PRON Deputy Chairman Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Visits to Dresden, Seftenberg

LD060147 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] A delegation of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth arrived in Berlin today. The delegation is headed by Jozef Czyrek, deputy chairman of the PRON. The visit aims at exchanging experiences. Jozef Czyrek met Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, in the morning. This afternoon there were plenary talks between the PRON delegation and the GDR National Front. Tomorrow the PRON delegation will familiarize itself in Dresden with the activities of the National Front in the area. The day after it will acquaint itself with the same in the Seftenberg area.

SED, PZPR OFFICIALS DISCUSS PEACE, COOPERATION

LD060059 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1733 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Frankfurt/Oder, 5 Dec (ADN) — In view of the aggressive confrontation and arms build-up policy by the United States, the FRG, and other NATO states, which has been further aggravated by the state of the stationing of U.S. first-strike missiles in West Europe, SED bezirk executives and PZPR voivodship committees believe their responsibility lies, above all, in organizing a mass campaign by the workers to safeguard peace, strengthen socialism and increase the defense capability of the two countries. This was stressed at a joint seminar today of the first secretaries of SED bezirk executives from Cottbus, Dresden, Frankfurt/Oder, Neubrandenburg, Rostock, and the first secretaries of PZPR voivodship committees of Gorzow, Jelenia Gora, Koszalin, Szczecin, Wroclaw, and Zielona Gora held in Frankfurt/Oder.

Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, presided over the consultations. The intensive exchange of views and experiences focused on the results to date and future tasks in partnership cooperation between the GDR bezirke and Polish voivodships on both sides of the Oder-Neisse peace border.

Horst Dohlus underlined that the traditional relations of partnership between the local SED and PZPR party organizations in the area close to the border between the two socialist countries plays an effective role in strengthening socialism in the two countries, consolidating the community of socialist states, and actively supporting the common peace policy of the Warsaw Pact states.

Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak stated that close fraternal cooperation, a trusting exchange of experiences between the communists and workers of the two neighboring countries, is of particular importance, especially in the current political situation in the world. He reported on the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth PZPR Congress, particularly with regard to consolidating party ranks and introducing economic reform.

In a letter to Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski, the first secretaries of the SED bezirk executives and PZPR voivodship committees gave their assurance that the party organizations of these areas in their two countries' close to the border will play an active role in fulfilling the great tasks which the two fraternal parties and states have set themselves in consolidating and strengthening all-round cooperation, friendship, and bringing the two peoples closer together.

SED'S MITTAG MEETS BCP STUDY DELEGATION

AU021557 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Dec 83 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received for friendly talks a delegation of the BCP Central Committee under the leadership of Stoyu Kyosev, member of the Central Auditing Commission and first deputy head of the Planning-Economic Department of the BCP Central Committee. The delegation is paying a study visit to the GDR and is acquainting itself with the SED's experiences in the field of management and planning of the national economy as well as with problems of enhancing production quality.

Guenter Mittag explained key points in the further implementation of the economic strategy developed at the 10th party congress by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and gave an account of the decisions of the seventh SED Central Committee session.

Participating in the talks were Carl-Heinz Janson, head of the SED Central Committee department for Socialist Economic Management, and Vulcho Naydenov Lenon, ambassador of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the GDR.

EX-NVA OFFICER WARNS OF 'FIRST STRIKE' FROM EAST

DW020853 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1915 GMT 30 Nov 83

[Interview with Karl-Heinz Rutsch, former National Peoples Army [NVA] officer now in the FRG after the 19 years' imprisonment in the GDR, by Helmut Kamphausen in Lippstadt on 27 November; From the ZDF Magazin program]

[Text] [Moderator Gerhard Loewenthal] The first question concerns the motives for Rutsch's escape attempt.

[Begin recording] [Rutsch] I personally developed a negative attitude toward the GDR regime at the beginning of my army service period. This negative attitude was strengthened during my service time, and I simply could no longer stand it, and I considered it my duty to turn my back on this regime and make it known in the Federal Republic how conscripts in the so-called National People's Army [NVA] are being prepared for a potential conflict with the so-called class enemy in the West, which would also include their own relatives who are possibly serving in the Bundeswehr.

[Kamphausen] Can you go a bit more into detail about this?

[Rutsch] I can explain this very well with some facts. I was at the Ernst Thaelmann Officer Academy in Loebau, Zittau branch, for training. In a course of political leadership and education at this officer training institute, we were familiarized with highly concrete tactical aspects which revealed how a potential conflict between the two military blocs in Europe might develop and what role has been assigned to the NVA in this conflict.

This revealed that the Eastern side will carry out the first strike. For all of us then, who in a way have been prepared and trained along the lines of this state's principles, this was even at that time a rather alarming fact because many officer candidates had previously seen their mission as defending against an enemy attack. However, we were told quite unequivocally there that the first strike will come from the East because we are not prepared to expose our people and our military and economic resources to an enemy attack. Since the East is in a position to anticipate a planned or potential enemy attack because of its espionage activities in the West, we will carry out a first strike -- I am now talking as the instructors did -- and subsequently cross the border in a broad front and occupy the enemy's territory within 7 days. The clear target was that the English Channel in the area of the French-Belgian border should be reached within these 7 days.

The strategy was to act with the support of the Soviet Army Forces and probably also the CSSR forces which, however, were not specifically mentioned. Quite clearly the mission at the time was -- and still is today -- to crush and defeat the enemy on his own territory.

All tactical training is based on the principle that the main type of combat is the attack. Defense is practiced only in exceptional cases.

[Kamphausen] You mentioned a first strike. Do you mean a nuclear first strike?

[Rutsch] That's it, exactly. They proceed from the principle that to prevent the enemy from harming their own people and resources first, the Eastern side will carry out a nuclear first strike so as to prepare the planned occupation of the enemy's territory.

[Kamphausen] Here in the FRG the group has become very strong that says: We don't want to counterarm; we want peace without arms, weapons. Do you think anything like this is possible?

[Rutsch] I think these people are blind, to put it politely. They are simply blind to political realities. They are simply not prepared to learn from history and often are very poorly informed, I regret to say. In personal discussions with such people, I have unfortunately, repeatedly discovered that they are absolutely unfamiliar with the facts that I confronted them with. However, when they heard me out, they were impressed to a certain degree.

I feel the need to bring these facts to the attention of the broad public so that this illusion of a peace without weapons will simply be eliminated, and so that increasing numbers of people will realize what the danger from the Warsaw Pact states really is. Of course, the Soviet Union is perfectly willing to keep peace if it can attain its goals without the use of military means. However, by the same token, it is always prepared to use military means anywhere, including central Europe, if it feels this is necessary. We saw this in the CSSR in 1968; we have seen what pressure, including that of a military nature, the Soviet Union brought to bear on allied Poland to put political developments there on a course to its liking, and we can see this daily in the criminal and murderous war being waged by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. We should never forget this and should draw from this the necessary conclusions. [end recording]

COOPERATION DISCUSSED WITH PRC OFFICIALS

Beil Meets Deputy Minister

LD060059 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1537 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 5 Dec (ADN) -- Member of the GDR Council of Ministers Dr Gerhard Beil, state secretary in the Foreign Trade Ministry, on Monday received the Chinese Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade and Economic Relations, Wei Yuming, for a discussion on expanding technological cooperation in close conjunction with the development of the two countries' foreign economic relations. The minister is in Berlin for a meeting of the Permanent Commission for Technological and Scientific-Technological Cooperation between the GDR and the PRC.

Present at the discussion were Klaus Herrmann, GDR deputy minister for science and technology, and Eugen Kattner, deputy foreign trade minister, as well as Peng Tiancheng, the Chinese People's Republic's trade attache.

Joint Commission Meets

LD041326 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1158 GMT 4 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 4 Dec (ADN) -- The permanent commission for technological [as received] and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and China began consultations this weekend, focusing on measures to further the development of cooperation in economically important areas. Chairman of the Commission's session is GDR Deputy Minister for Science and Technology Klaus Herrmann. The Chinese delegation is headed by Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade and Economic Relations Wei Yuming.

During its visit to the GDR, the Chinese delegation will visit combines and factories connected with coal extraction and processing, electrical engineering and electronics, heavy engineering and processing machinery, and the chemical industry.

PRC Officials Visit Exhibit

AU301610 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 83 p 5

[Text] Beijing (ADN) -- On Monday [28 November] PRC deputy premiers Wan Li and Yao Yilin visited an exposition of the GDR foreign trade enterprises Fortschritt Landmaschinen, WMW, and Polygraph in Beijing. The guests were welcomed by GDR Ambassador Rolf Berthold. Within the framework of the international exhibition on packaging technology currently taking place in the Chinese capital, the GDR is showcasing machines for plastics processing, foodstuffs packaging, and printing.

DEPUTY MINISTER MEETS NICARAGUAN OFFICIALS

Talks Held

AU021605 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Dec 83 p 2

[Text] Managua (ADN) -- Dr Sergio Ramirez, member of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua, and Henry Ruiz, member of the national leadership of the Sandinist Front of National Liberation and minister of planning, received for friendly talks Wilhelm Bastain, GDR deputy minister of foreign trade.

Wilhelm Bastian, who leads the GDR delegation to the third session of the mixed commission of the two countries, conveyed the personal greetings and a message from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. Central to the exchange of views were problems related to developing and deepening the mutually advantageous relations in the economic field between the two countries. Dr Sergio Ramirez and Henry Ruiz reciprocated the cordial greetings and expressed their high appreciation for the comprehensive solidarity and support of the GDR for the new Nicaragua.

Participating in the talks were Nicaraguan Foreign Trade Minister Alejandro Martinez and GDR Ambassador Gerald Moeckel.

Scientific Agreement Signed

LD041142 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0100 GMT 4 Dec 83

[Text] The GDR and Nicaragua reached agreement in Managua on long-term scientific-technological cooperation. The agreement was signed at the conclusion of the third session of the mixed government commission. Economic cooperation is also to be expanded. Next year, the GDR is to export mainly trucks, construction machines, fertilizers, and chemical products. Nicaragua is to supply foodstuffs, tobacco, and coffee beans. Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Wilhelm Bastian stressed in Managua that the GDR wants to continue in the future to strengthen its relations with Nicaragua, which are characterized by friendship and anti-imperialist solidarity. His Nicaraguan counterpart, (Bernardo San Moro), thanked the GDR Government and people for their numerous demonstrations of solidarity with his country's struggle against the military and economic aggression of imperialism. He described the measures agreed as valuable support toward solving the tasks of the Sandinist people's revolution.

U.S. WORLD WAR II VETERAN BURIED IN TORGAU

AU010910 East Berlin NEUES DUETSCHLAND in German 28 Nov 83 p 2

[Excerpt] Torgau (ADN) -- U.S. war veteran Joseph Polowsky, who died in Chicago on 17 October, was ceremonially buried in Torgau in accordance with his wishes. Polowsky was a member of the U.S. Army patrol which on 28 April 1945 was the first to link up with the Soviet Armed Forces at the Elbe. The burial ceremony was attended by his son Ped Polowsky, a group of U.S. war veterans, a delegation of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans, and prominent figures from the city of Torgau. Also present were diplomats of the embassies of the USSR and the United States in the GDR.

HONECKER CHAIRS COUNCIL OF STATE SESSION

LD052022 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1238 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 5 Dec (DPA) -- The GDR Council of State met for a session on Monday under the chairmanship of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State.

At the proposal of the SED Central Committee, the Council of State resolved, in accordance with Article 72 of the Constitution and the GDR election law, to hold elections in 1984 for the kreis assemblies, town assemblies, town district assemblies, and community assemblies. The election date will be 6 May 1984.

The Council of State also received reports from the Fehrbellin town assembly, Neuruppin Kreis, and the Wittgensdorf community assembly, Karl-Marx-Stadt Kreis on experiences, in supporting agricultural production and the development of social lilfe. Both reports confirmed vividly the observation made at the seventh SED Central Committee meeting that the representative bodies of the people, their organs, and deputies are successfully organizing the struggle for the purposeful realization of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. Through manifold initiatives the efficiency of agricultural enterprises was increased and workers' working and living conditions further improved in both districts.

Such performance-minded work by the community, Erich Honecker said in the talk, is a significant contribution to strengthening the GDR and is worthy preparation for the 35th anniversary of its founding. It was and remains the guideline and yardstick of effective work by representative bodies of the people to concentrate all efforts on fulfilling the national economic plan and the pledges given to overfulfill it. In this respect the deputies should stand in the front line of the struggle for the realization of the plan objectives and rely on the close collaboration with the workers. In particular the prepartion of the community assembly elections should be marked by trusting contact with the citizens.

The Council of State noted the reports with approval and thanked the mayors and deputies for the work done. It decreed that the reports be sent to the district assemblies and to the representative bodies of the towns and parishes belonging to the districts with the recommendation to utilize the experiences contained therein for the further realization of the resolutions of the 10th SED Party Congress aimed at safeguarding peace and the prosperity of the people.

During the further course of the session the Council of State dealt with a report by Hans-Joachim Heusinger, justice minister and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, concerning experiences in the enforcement of the law on social courts. It notes that the law, which came into force on 1 January 1983, and the regulations decided on by the Council of State concerning the work of arbitration panels and committees have proven themselves in practice. On their basis over 26,700 arbitration panels and over 5,200 arbitration commissions are dispensing justice with factual knowledge, empathy, and partisanship. They are making extensive use of the opportunities offered by legal regulations for the further consolidation of socialist legality and for the safeguarding of order, discipline, and security in their enterprises and the residential areas of towns and parishes.

The report was ratified following a detailed discussion.

SED PARTY GROUPS HOLD LOCAL ELECTIONS

LD051159 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0304 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Excerpt] Berlin, 5 Dec (ADN) -- According to the party statute and the resolutions of the SED Central Committee, the rendering of accounts and new elections of the party group organizers and their deputies in the 93,824 party groups and of the committees in their 26,386 department party organizations and 57,782 basic cells took place in the GDR between 3 October and 3 December 1983. Also elected were 1,648 local committees.

The party elections have further strengthened the fighting power of the basic cells and their trusting solidarity with the workers in all areas of life, and demonstrated the strong unity and cohesion of the whole party. They reflected the great sense of responsibility of communists for the safeguarding of peace and the overall strengthening of the GDR. Carried by the firm trust in the policy of the Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, the communists affirmed their resolve for the further consistent realization of the 10th SED Party Congress resolutions. This is also underlined by the high participation of 93.9 percent of comrades in the gatherings where the accounts were rendered and 98.6 percent in the delegate conferences.

MITTAG CHAIRS PEOPLE'S CHAMBER COMMITTEE MEETING

LD060222 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] The GDR People's Chamber Committee for Industry, Construction, and Transport unanimously approved in Berlin today the 1984 draft economic plan. During the debate, the chairman of the committee, Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, stressed that all efforts will continue in the coming year aimed at further increasing the performance of the economy for the well being of the people. The People's Chamber deputies drew attention during the discussion to the need to achieve a high growth rate in national income in 1984 while ensuring a reduction in input consumption. They devoted a lot of attention to further expanding consumer goods production to supply the population and for export.

SYNOD OBJECTS TO EAST, WEST MISSILE DEPLOYMENTS

DW060937 Frankfurt FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 6 Dec 83 p 4

[Text] Berlin, 5 December (EPD) -- At a meeting over the weekend in Eisenach, the synod of the Thuringian Evangelical Church objected to the deployment of six new missile systems in the GDR. In a "letter to the congregations" the synod stresses that the decision to deploy new intermediate-range nuclear missiles in West Germany and the announced deployment of new missile systems in the GDR, create an espceially dangerous situation. The letter regrets that the governments are not able to stop the "fatal arms race." In doing this, the synod was obviously reacting to a petition signing campaign in GDR plants and state institutions that has been going on for some weeks in support of the Moscow decision on deployment.

STATE SECRETARY GYSI MEETS CARDINAL MEISNER

AU010928 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 83 p 2

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN) -- On Monday Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, and Cardinal Joachim Meisner, chairman of the Berlin Conference of Bishops, met for a talk. Proceeding from the statement issued by the Seventh SED Central Committee Plenum, which stated that the number is increasing of those who, irrespective of political and ideological principles and of religious denomination, are supporting the campaign to secure the most important human right, the right to live, Klaus Gysi praised the high moral significance of the Catholic Church in its work for peace for mankind.

In view of the fact that the international situation is being dangerously aggravated by the deployment of new U.S. first-strike weapons in Western Europe, the struggle of the peace forces, their cohesion, and their determination is today more important than ever before. The need of the hour is a coalition of reason among those who want peace.

SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETS BORDER TROOPS

AU021641 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Dec 83 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The SED Central Committee has addressed the following greetings message, signed by its general secretary, Erich Honecker, to the soldiers, sailors, noncommissioned officers, mates, warrant officers, officers, and generals, as well as to the civilian employees and voluntary helpers of the GDR border troops.

The SED Central Committee conveys cordial congratulations and fraternal militant greetings to you on the 37th anniversary of the founding of the GDR border troops.

Under the leadership of the party of the workers class and in close cooperation with the GDR working people, last year you scored exemplary achievements for the protection of the borders of our socialist fatherland and helped to a decisive extent to preserve peace.

The SED Central Committee expresses gratitude and high recognition to you for your actions in the interests of the GDR citizens, for your loyalty and dedication to the party of the workers, for your readiness to make sacrifices, and for your steadfastness.

Peace today is more threatened than ever before. The most aggressive quarters of imperialism, particularly those in the United States, continue to further poison the international climate by adhering to confrontation and stepped-up armament. They have begun to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in some West European countries contrary to the interests of peace-loving mankind. As a result, the danger of a nuclear war is increasing. It is important to do everything possible to counter this sinister course.

It is in this class struggle situation that the national and international responsibility of the GDR border troops for protecting our state borders and for securing peace is growing.

The Central Committee is sure that side by side with their Soviet brothers in class and arms and with the other socialist fraternal countries, the members of the border troops, the civilian employees, and the voluntary helpers will also in the future honorably fulfill the class assignment of the 10th party congress with revolutionary vigilance, high awareness of responsibility, and readiness for action. It is necessary for this purpose to further develop the role of the party, to strengthen the fighting strength of the party organizations, to improve the quality of the leading activities of the chiefs, commanders and leaders, of the political organs and staffs, and to mobilize all border troop members for the forthcoming tasks. In close, trusting cooperation with the local party and state organs, other protective and security organs, various social forces, and the border populace, maximum attention must be paid to maintaining a high degree of order and security in the border area.

The Central Committee wishes you much success, creative vigor, and all the best in carrying out this task in preparation for the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

JANOS PETER, DELEGATION DEPART FOR IRAQ

LD040026 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 3 Dec 83

[Text] Budapest, December 3 (MTI) -- A Hungarian parliamentary delegation, headed by Janos Peter, vice-president of the Hungarian National Assembly, left for Iraq Saturday on the invitation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Iraq. It is the first visit of Hungarian deputies.

Baghdad Coverage of Visit

For Baghdad coverage of the visit by Dr Janos Peter, vice-president of the National Assembly, and his delegation to the Republic of Iraq, including a report of a meeting with Iraqi National Assembly Speaker Na'im Haddad, see the Iraq section of the 6 December Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT.

LAZAR RECEIVES POLAND'S SZALAJDA-LED DELEGATION

LD060153 Budapest MTI in English 1742 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Budapest, December 5 (MTI) -- A delegation, headed by Zbigniew Szalajda, deputy premier of the Polish People's Republic, arrived in Budapest, Monday, to hold talks on the system of economic management, the methods of industrial policy, and the relation of companies and central management.

Zbigniew Szalajda met Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. Present at the meeting were Lajos Faluvegi, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and president of the Polish People's Republic to Hungary.

SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETIES MEET IN BUDAPEST

LD061155 Budapest MTI in English 1044 GMT 06 Dec 83

[Text] Budapest, December 6 (MTI) -- Organized by the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society, a two-day conference of leading representatives of the Soviet friendship societies of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, Poland, Mongolia, the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and Vietnam opened in Budapest Tuesday [6 December].

The conference aims to give a many-sided picture of the effort of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to maintain peace, curb the arms race, continue the detente process and put the Leninist peace policy into practice.

After the welcoming address of Antal Apro, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee and president of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society, Secretary-General Gyula Biro gave a speech.

VISIT BY FRG SOCIALIST YOUTH DELEGATION REPORTED

AU021543 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Dec 83 p 4

[Text] The delegation of the SPD's Young Socialists [JUSO] from the FRG, headed by Horst Wegner, federal secretary, which visited Hungary at the invitation of the KISZ Central Committee, departed Budapest on 30 November.

At their talks, the members of the two delegations informed each other of current issues of KISZ and JUSO activities, and exchanged views on the international situation and the current tasks of the international youth movement. They stressed at the talks that, in the coming period, the joint action of youth organizations and movements belonging to different political and ideological trends directed at safeguarding peace and avoiding world war, will have an even higher importance than before.

The delegation was received by Gyorgy Fejti, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, and Laszlo Kovacs, deputy head of a Department of the MSZMP Central Committee.

Before their departure, the members of the JUSO delegation held a press conference. Horst Wegner stressed that at the talks a common position with the hosts emerged concern-many issues of the international situation. They agreed, for instance, that the United States is unequivocally to blame for the particularly tense international situation over missile deployments in Western Europe and for the interruption of the Geneva talks. As has been stated, the differences of opinion concerning some issues of international politics do not hinder the further expansion of cooperation between KISZ and JUSO.

GOVERNMENT RAISES AGRICULTURE PROCUREMENT PRICES

LD052218 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Budapest, December 5 (MTI) -- In a series of moves affecting the entire national economy, the Hungarian Council of Ministers has decided to increase the state procurement price of principal agricultural products, but reduce government subsidies to agriculture. The moves, to take effect early next year, dovetail with the economic regulations aimed at increasing the costs on employment and reducing government subsides. The rise in state procurement prices and in the prices of industrial products used by agriculture is aiming at relieving the budget from the burden of subsidizing fertilizer and agricultural machine prices.

The 1984 state procurement prices are expected to exceed this year's prices by an average of 4.4 per cent. Wheat and rye will be bought at 24 forint higher price per 100 kg, and maize and other fodder at 20 forint higher price. One kg slaughtered pig will pay 1.40 forint more, butter 2.20 more and a litre of milk 0.50 forint more.

Simultaneously, with the removal of state support, fertilizers will be 16 per cent more expensive, and farm machinery by 3 per cent more. Since government subsidy will shrink from 20 to 10 per cent for small garden machinery, their prices are to go up by 12-13 per cent. The price of imported and domestic protein-rich fodder is to increase by 8 per cent, and that of cereals and mixed fodder by 5-6 per cent.

Some financial regulators will change too: The budget contribution of agricultural units is to go up by 11 per cent. In view, however, of the rise in social security contribution, the income tax of agricultural enterprises will be reduced by 20 per cent. The government support granted in previous years to compensate for rises in energy source prices will be cancelled in 1984.

In view of the fact that some farms sustained heavy losses caused by the drought, these will be temporarily exempted from the stricter regulations. On the other hand, higher land tax will be levied on units farming on better than average land. Vegetable growing on household farms will continue to enjoy government subsidy and no modifications are to be effected in the taxation of household farms of peasants and non-agricultural working people.

PAP REPORT ON TV DISCUSSION OF U.S. SANCTIONS

LD051621 Warsaw PAP in English 0721 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw 4 Dec -- Channel One of Polish Television this afternoon telecast a programme on the character and consequences of the policy of the United States vis a vis this country. Ambassador Jan Bisztyga, former undersecretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, and four other experts on the subject took part in the programme.

The ambassador and scholars Weldemar Dziak and Zbigniew Krzysztofowicz as well as newsmen Ryszard Naleszkiewicz and Witold Wiacek pondered whether the anti-Polish U.S. restrictions were effective and what was their impact on the steps of U.S. Administration.

The restrictions were to serve the U.S. political interests which for years have been aimed at gaining domination over the world, it was said during the TV discussion. The U.S. foreign policy is subordinated to this aim. In reference to Poland, the U.S. has been using a new strategy for the last two years: it disciplined its allies against the socialist camp and brought about integrated activity manifested by the economic restrictions, the strategy of propaganda aggression as well as "threatening" the socialist countries with its military potential.

The programme recalled the history of the U.S. use of "flexible" policy against the fundamental principles of international law as concerns the so-called most-favoured nation clause in trade. The American Administration unlawfully cancelled this clause, for example, with Czechoslovakia in 1951 when socialist system transformations took place in that country. In relations with Poland, the U.S. suspended the clause during the cold war period to restore it in 1961 and then again, in 1982, to suspend it unlawfully -- contrary to the U.N. Charter and the CSCE Helsinki provisions.

Two years after the imposition of American restrictions, it can be said now that their authors were counting on leading the Polish economy to total destruction, that is to releasing a social conflict whose outcome would help realize the tasks put forth by Polish opposition. It would have happened so, had the Polish authorities not taken preventive measures: there was a reorientation of the economy and it was based either on domestic primary and intermediate materials or those from our allies in the socialist camp. The industry was disciplined with administrative mechanisms, including the activity of military commissaries who played an enormous role. They did not allow for the dismantling of many units and whole branches. What came as a kind of a "side-effect" which the Americans did not want in the least was the accelerated process of Polish economic reorientation at close cooperation with the socialist countries.

The discussants said that the reorientation of our economy was a clear proof that Poland was seeing its national interest in close links with the economies of the socialist countries and was interested in the consolidation of their entire community in case of other possible similar "punitive measures" of the West.

Were there such forces in Poland for which it was beneficial to back restrictions? The discussants presented the thesis that there was probably not a single Pole who would welcome with appreciation the weakening of national economy through restrictions. But there were and are individuals and small groups supporting the strategic aim of the U.S. restrictions -- the weakening of the socio-political system in our country. Today, they feel exactly the same as their American overlords. In the face of the fiasco of the restrictions, they would try -- similarly like the American Administration -- to adjust themselves to new circumstances.

The fact that the restrictions were not successful is obvious today. It is enough to recall that they did not meet with a positive response even of the EEC member states, and some U.S. businessmen are even suffering losses because of them. Hence, the overall balance is negative and the team of President Reagan needs a success before the approaching elections. So what will be the focus of American administration today, what catches it will make to realize the current and far-reaching aims of the U.S.?

According to the discussants it is to be a policy of aggravating tensions in Poland. They also presented a prognosis that the U.S. will aim at weakening Polish economy pressing for the repayment of debts. Mass media, on the other hand, are to present illusions on profits the Polish nation might obtain from joining Western economies. Press, radio and television are to persuade the Polish nation that the Americans are easing restrictions. But these moves will not be dictated by an act of humanitarianism, they will result from two basic issues, namely a striving aimed to halt Poland's withdrawal from close economic ties with the West and an attempt to rebuild in Polish minds the image of the U.S. as Poland's friend. A possible change of the administration will not change in principle the U.S. policy towards Poland, as the incerest and the aim of this power will not change, it will use "Polish instrument" for a long time in its international policy.

While implementing this policy the Americans might be helped by this ever smaller group of political opposition. That is why, as it was stated during the programme, the short-term aim to be accomplished by the U.S. in the nearest months is to save this opposition, a kind of a Polish "bridge-head" used in their moves for a long time.

They have to do it very quickly in order to indirectly save their own position in the minds of Poles. Sociological research conducted in big groups of people proved that the attitude towards people supporting the U.S. restrictions, and generally towards the U.S. and its militaristic international policy is changing to the disadvantage of the U.S. so the Americans have to "give a chance" to the opposition telling it how to aggravate internal conflicts and create new fronts of struggle, the coming elections in Poland, propagating anarcho-syndicalism as a method of a fight against the authorities. They face the necessity to change their tactics towards Poland, and what follows, they have to find a way out of the inconvenient situation they found themselves in.

The conclusion which in a way summed up the TV discussion were the last words said in the studio: The U.S. have to find a way to lift the restrictions.

JARUZELSKI, JABLONSKI ATTEND 5 DEC SEJM SESSION

LD051217 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Correspondent's dispatch from the Sejm]

[Excerpts] At 1000 today's deliberations of our parliament began. They are being chaired by Marshall Stanislaw Gucwa. Chairman of the Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski and Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski are present. The agenda given in our earlier reports was extended by a report by the minister of internal affairs on the present state of security and public order in Poland and by an item linked with changes in the Council of Ministers' composition. A report by the Mandates and Regulations Commission on filling deputies' mandates was presented by Deputy Marian Sokolowski.

Next came the report on the present state of security and public order. Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa then gave the floor to Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslw Kiszczak.

Following the speech by Minister Kiszczak the Sejm approved the report of the minister of internal affairs.

Finance Minister Stanislaw Nieckarz then presented the main assumption of the draft budget and draft resolution on the balance of payments.

New Deputies Appointed

LD051124 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Correspondent's dispatch from the Sejm]

[Excerpt] Deputy Marian Sokolowski presented the report of the Mandates and Regulations Commission on the filling of vacant deputies' mandates. The Sejm adopted a resolution on this matter. The chamber was entered by: (Ryszard Szczawko) for electoral district No 4 in Warsaw's North Praga District; Czeslaw Rakowko for electoral district No 7 in Bialystok; Artur Kopanski, for electoral district No 15 in Elblag; and Maria Wozniak for electoral district No 43 in Nowy Sacz.

Kiszczak Speech

LD051827 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1309 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Speech by Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs, at meeting of the Sejm on 5 December 1983 -- recorded]

[Text] Citizen speaker, may it please the house: Internal security and public order are essential preconditions for the reconstruction of the political and economic strength of our socialist state. They also guarantee each citizen's sense of personal security. Such a conviction, shared by the decisive majority of our society, has created the practice -- which is already a permanent feature -- of laying before the esteemed house public periodic reports on the activity of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Four months have passed since the esteemed house lifted martial law. Contrary to the insinuations of the foreign centers of subversion and their branches in Poland, contrary to the statements of certain Western governments and political circles, that decision was not just a formal act. It was the expression of a significant breakthrough in the development of the situation in our country. It became possible because the Polish public -- and first and foremost the working class, which after all felt sharply the difficulties and burden of the crisis -- gave proof of its maturity, widom, and understanding of the complicated conditioning factors in which it had been our lot to have to fight for the shape and success of the socialist, sovereign Polish state.

The lifting of martial law represented a victory for the attitude of patriotic responsibility, for the fate of the state, a victory over the forces of anarchy and destabilization that tried to exploit the difficult position of working people to their own destructive and antinational ends.

Citizens, deputies, in all sectors we are observing a favorable reappraisal of opinions, a calming down of the political atmosphere. It is increasingly clear that there has been a drop in interest, accompanied by increasing disapproval, in the confrontational initiatives that come from the antistate forces. The activity of the so-called underground, for all the raucous publicity carried out day and night by the foreign Polish-language radio stations, does not at present exist on any broad scale, nor does it have any large reserve of cadres.

It becomes ever more evident that it performs the functions of an agency benefitting external forces which are hostile to Poland.

A crisis in the undergrounds' activities came last autumn. Since that time, its influence on individual communities has declined steadily. It is no longer able, by means of political slogans, to rouse the public to adventurist and antistate actions. The political blindness, the absence ofa sensible program, hobnobbing with even the most extreme anti-Polish factions, like the revisionists in the FRG, the fact that the former Solidarity leaders favor economic restrictions that strike at the whole public -- all this makes people turn away from the counterrevolutionary extremists; and this goes even for those people who are embittered and distrustful of the authorities, but who think in Polish terms.

This found its most convincing reflection on the third anniversary of the signing of the social agreements. There was no so-called go-slow in Poland, there was no boycott of the press or of the municipal transport. Street brawls, organized in some towns by those groups for whom a paving stone provides the final argument, could not change the import of this picture. However, the fact that the working class and the workplaces failed to take part in these brawls has to be emphasized.

Detailed data concerning the number of people active in the political underground are unknown. Even the so-called Provisional Coordinating Commission of Solidarity does not know. Its members, apart from their periodic statements, devote their lives entirely to hiding. Nor does the Ministry of Internal Affairs pretend to have full knowledge in this respect. However, I wish to inform the citizen deputies that we are examing these issues thoroughly. We have full information on certain areas.

I am hereby declaring that, contrary to the enemy's propaganda, there is no Polish underground. There are only alienated groups of people, full of hatred, pigheaded, pathologically opposed to the socialist authorities and the people's state. There are also a number of people who are not even hostile, who may be honest but muddled and misled, acting under the pressures of false loyalties, who are supporting the former group in many ways. This is the case, for example, in the Szczecin region, where at present four small groups are active whose composition we know. As a matter of fact, they do not show great activity but are full of inner conflicts and have no organizational connections among them. They get illegal literature from Warsaw, which clearly indicates that they are unable to produce it themselves.

There is a similar situation in certain other regions. We do not ignore all this, but are actively trying to assess the situation.

We have no illusions, of course. Those who several months ago were cynically urging people to work as slowly as tortoises, which damaged the country economically, wish a return to the unbridled demagogy and chaos of the 1980-1981 period.

Doubtless new cliches about an economic disaster, about the danger of want, of malnutrition and illness, will soon be dropping from their lips: demagogic statements with which they once succeeded in deceiving part of society. That black vision of the present and future is not merely mendacious; it is profoundly socially amoral and destructive. For by painting everything in dark colors attempts are made to deprive Poles of their hope for an improvement in their lives. And the person who has been stripped of his optimism works less well, less willingly, less productively. Attempts are made through undermining the hope of calm and stabilization to inject hatred and the expectation of catastrophe for the socialist state into Poles.

One has to assume that attempts at sowing confusion by the internal and external opponents will continue. For there are still fanatics -- not to mention the oppositionists who are none-too-badly paid and rewarded from without -- who still fail to understand the direction the course of history is taking. They prefer to live in a world of illusion rather than to concede defeat. They remain blind and deaf to the real interests of the nation, to the fate of the homeland. They have been warned more than once from the dais of this Sejm that the road they have chosen leads nowhere. I repeat this warning once again.

The sense of loneliness, alienation, and, ultimately, a complete defeat will accompany them on this path. Even the leading advisers of the former Solidarity, today sometimes fulfilling the same role in the underground, see the obvious senselessness of conspiracy. They simply lack the personal civic courage to confess it publicly, although it must be said that such cases do occur.

The humanitarian legislative solutions that accompanied the lifting of martial law and were passed by the house made it possible for many citizens to rediscover their place in society, to begin normal life again. On 29 September the minister of justice presented the reports on the results of the amnesty to the house. And thus I would like to add that, as of 30 November, there are 217 persons imprisoned who committed crimes damaging to the state because of political motives. This group encompasses 41 persons who have already been sentenced and whose sentences of deprivation of freedom have been alleviated on the basis of the amnesty, 31 persons under arrest who have not been covered by the amnesty, 134 persons arrested for the said crimes committed after the lifting of martial law and, finally, 11 persons under temporary arrest who are not eligible for the amnesty regulations.

These are the well-known leaders of the KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] concerning whom the investigation services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have completed preparatory proceedings; the case files together with the indictments have been referred to Warsaw Military District Court. These are also leading extremists from the former Solidarity leadership on whom the final preparatory proceedings are being completed now. Those under suspicion will familiarize themselves with the investigation documents.

In connection with the Amnesty Law, 722 persons had revealed themselves to the security services by 3 December 1983. These persons had committed deeds contrary to law because of their political beliefs during the period of martial law. This number includes many persons who in the past fulfilled vital functions in the structures of the former Solidarity and the underground.

Members of the so-called Provisional Coordinating Commission and various inter-regional and regional structures were among them. Another 25 persons staying abroad have benefited from the Amnesty Law. We know that many of our other compatriots abroad are considering this possibility. We are aware of the fact that decisions taken by these people are most difficult: disorientation, the atmosphere of hysterical pressure, and sometimes even physical threats surrounding the Poles abroad is very well known to us. They are fed with the false propaganda of Western mass media which present Poland as a country of chaos, cruelties, and repression, they are often unable to overcome various internal anxieties.

I wish to remind you of the assurance of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, given from this supreme tribune on 25 January 1982, that everyone who has not sold his or her Polish identity and personal honesty to foreign powers deliberately has the way back to Poland open to him or her.

It is not the fate of Poles to wander homelessly through foreign countries. They have honest patriotic service to do for the nation here, in their own homeland.

The government proposal submitted on the initiative of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth to extend the amnesty period until the end of 1983 gained the approval of the house during the previous session. The Ministry of Internal Affairs received that decision with satisfaction. It will enable those who perhaps up to now made light of their responsibility for their criminal activity and also those who have run out of strength and determination to oppose the psychological terror practiced by internal and foreign opponents to give themselves up and stop that activity.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs tries to help everyone who wants to make an end to breaking the law and come out of the so-called underground. The security services frequently reveal operational information, not to supply material to the prosecutors but to warn those people who have gone astray and bring them back from activity against their own interest and that of the state.

For example, in October of this year, in the Walter engineering works in Radom, the leadership of the voivodship office of internal affairs, together with prosecutors, had a meeting with a section of the work force. After an open, down-to-earth discussion, those who had previously participated in illegal activity took advantage of the possibility to give themselves up. Similar meetings were held and are still being held in other work places.

We believe that the extension of the amnesty period will bring about real social benefits and will contribute to a further improvement of the political atmosphere in our country. Now we only have to express our regret that efforts of this kind undertaken by the house, the government, and our ministry are not met with the support which they deserve. There are too few voices urging people to give up the false road, although the senselessness of this deplorable conspiracy is today virtually common knowledge.

After all, many individuals in our country and a number of institutions feel that it is not only their civic and social duty to condemn evil but a moral one, that they should stigmatize the breaching of the law. It is a shame that when they speak out they primarily blame the regime and authorities for all mistakes. And yet they do not support the regime and authorities in combating and eliminating various social diseases and wrongdoings.

May it please the house, the political struggle is still going on in Poland. Although the internal sources of tension are withering away, external threats are being intensified. This comes from the confrontational policy of the U.S. Government and its allies.

The serious exacerbation of the international situation, about which the citizen deputies know, is also expressed in an intensification of the espionage and subversive activities against Poland. The opponent's activity is increasing in particular among those Poles who are in foreign countries in various capacities. The Western intelligence services are seeking to recruit their own agents from among them. This year alone we have noted several dozen such cases.

In the middle of November this year the security service arrested two agents of the intelligence service of the United States. One of those arrested is a Polish citizen, (Jacek Jurzak), an inhabitant of Bielsko-Biala, a doctor of technical sciences, a tutor [adiunkt] at the Lodz Polytechnic. The second, (Norbert Adamaszek), is a citizen of the FRG an employee of one of the West German concerns, who used his visits to Poland to carry out espionage tasks. The extremely dangerous and harmful activity of the two persons arrested consisted of obtaining information from the military and defense sphere and on the sociopolitical situation in Poland. Cut off in time, this activity will not do further damage to Poland.

Our legislative system takes genuine remorse into account. Had the two persons reported earlier to the relevant authorities and disclosed their criminal activity, they could have counted on an extraordinary mitigation of punishment. They will now go before the court accused of espionage to the detriment of the Polish state, a crime for which the Penal Code provides particularly severe punishments, including the death penalty.

The hostile centers are employing a known and historically tested method of stoking up the the atmosphere of tension in Poland: using the hands of Poles against Poland. They spare no effort in this campaign, giving financial support to the opposition's detrimental activities and building up the conspirators' material and technical resources when they suffer losses.

Attempts are being made to set up new channels of communication between the centers of subversion in the West and the underground in Poland, and to arrange trips to the West and the underground in Poland, and to arrange trips to the West by representatives of the opposition so they can receive instructions. Certain of the more important and most merited are invited on so-called grants as a reward, accompanied by their families.

Material resources, foreign currency, equipment and anti-Polish literature most frequently travel along complex channels. A subtle network functions, beginning with the cadres of the Western espionage services and proceeding through various foundations, organizations with noble pedigrees, trade union headquarters, and the like. Quite often these considerable resources are camouflaged as charitable aid. For some, particularly the leading conspirators and opposition activists, availing themselves of the support from the Western centers has become a highly profitable and lucrative activity. It is simply worth the while of the underground activist to be (?programatically) anti. The espionage centers are not lavish, however, with regard to the run-of-the-mill oppositionists and conspirators. They merely get the feeble leftovers. For instance, a certain well-known Wroclaw intellectual receives a quarterly dollar remuneration equivalent in worth to a single meal in a second-class American restaurant.

For their money the intelligence-gathering centers demand certain services and receive them under the guise of various pseudo-trade union and organizational reports which, in fact, become espionage reports. All those who still believe that the Western masters are acting in a disinterested manner should realize this truth. Moreover, what transpires from our assessment is that part of the aid from the coffers of Western intelligence services does not always reach those to whom it is addressed, or else it is used for purposes that are not at all conspiratorial ones.

Were it not for the fact that Poland is involved, one could sum all this up in one brief statement: The money is not ours and it is none of our business either. The official missions of some NATO states in our country constitute one of the links of intelligence and subversion activity in Poland. It has been known for a long time that contacts established by these missions with those who represent various Polish communities are frequently of a probing nature. These contacts consist in extracting all sorts of information and, in many instances, serve, quite simply, to involve Polish citizens in hostile and criminal activities.

Action undertaken by the ministry serves to prevent this kind of trade from being plied. It is not our aim to isolate from the Polish population those missions that respect Polish laws and are guided by a desire for mutual rapprochement. However, we shall not sit idly in the face of the process of turning certain embassies into bridgeheads for anti-Polish activities.

The opponents, both external and internal ones, make many efforts to muddy the state's relations with the Church. This stood out in particularly bold relief prior to and during the pope's visit to our country. It is tangible in the present time as well. However, these efforts have failed to yield the expected results. John Paul II's Polish visit passed off in a serious and calm atmosphere. The ministry's operatives made a serious contribution to safeguarding the visit as it should be safeguarded and both the pope and the primate of Poland acknowledged this.

Current relations between the state and the Church are proper [poprawne], though within them appear certain cracks. There are planes on which the cooperation between the two parties could shape up better and more constructively for the good of the state, the Church, and above all of Poland. We have a sincere interest in this. We do not wish to identify the adventurist inflammatory public outbursts -- which have nothing to do with religion -- of certain priests, with the stance of the majority of the clergy and of the whole Church, though we note with serious unease that such events -- by no means isolated ones -- continue to take place.

We made positive note of the findings of the 196th plenary conference of the Episcopate, which did not approve, though unfortunately without visible results so far, the turning of certain churches into halls for rallies, their granting access to various kinds of politicos and theatrical-journalistic maniacs and careerists. Certain of these until recently were downright demonstrative atheists. What will they do for money, to satisfy their febrile political ambitions!

Citizen deputies, for nearly 2 years now, the President of the United States been teaching the Polish public -- one has to admit painfully, but with some effect -- how the friendship for our nation is to be understood. It is to be regretted that countries we have until recently regarded as friendly and with which we have been linked by historical ties of sympathy, pursue similar policies.

The form of Poland's political, social, and economic life is not determined, nor will it be, from the shores of the Potomac, the Thames, Rhine, or the Seine. We determine this form ourselves. The Soviet Union's friendship and benevolence -- and this goes for other socialist countries, which give us political and moral support and, what is particularly important, effective material aid -- accompany our efforts to overcome the difficulties.

We already know the magnitude of tangible losses and harm done by the Western economic blockade of Poland. These are very significant indeed, amounting to many billions of dollars. But these immoral decisions that strike at our public are also becoming an ever more painful thorn in the side of the capitalist producers, trade officials, and financiers. They are aware that the longer the restrictions remain in force, the longer it will take to pay our debts.

In this situation, we shall not allow ourselves to be conned by anyone's gestures or declarations of being willing to give aid in the economic relations with the West. This applies in particular to those who, throughout the past several months, have publicly lauded and supported Reagan's restrictions.

Today, no one can shuffle from those disgraceful statements. We are not expecting philanthropy from Western partners. We are expecting an unequivocal and total turn in their economic policy towards observing the agreements and contracts, international economic agreements that have stood for many years, and most of all towards keeping their own obligations. We also demand compensation for damages caused to our economy as a result of restrictions.

Our country is gradually coming out of the crisis. This is an obvious fact, though we are not satisfied with the pace of this process. The decisive majority of the working people in Poland are honest and respectful citizens, performing their duties conscientiously, rightfully demanding an increase of struggle against mismanagement, against any dishonesty. The more so because the cases of glaring waste, of producing bad-quality goods, are still not rarities. In effect the national economy and the whole society suffer great losses. However, this is not merely an economic problem. As the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum indicated, the enemy is using the economic plane as a main arena of political struggle.

In certain cases -- I do not wish to overestimate their number, but there is no reason to make light of it -- poor quality of products or waste -- of sought-after items of food, for instance -- is, if one considers the matter objectively, an activity detrimental to society which has deeply felt effects. This activity is thus essentially a criminal one and it is high time it was termed such. Criminal manipulations of time clocks or other machinations aimed at swindling unearned wages also belong to this class of phenomena. Though admittedly they are individual occurrences, they do occur in enterprises of key significance to the national economy. And when one is working on paper [piedy pracuje karta], as they say in these enterprises, one can still criticize the authorities for the difficult economic situation of the country. But if one only works on paper, and does not work honestly with head and hands, this situation will never improve.

The phenomenon of obtaining swindling, unjustified doctor's notes can be classified in a similar way, and not just in the moral respect. How many of the ostensibly ill are using the time gained to work for their own benefit! Some for instance, are busy fishing, collecting mushrooms, or attending meetings which are not just social gatherings. This is favored by the inadequate controls on granting sick leave and on the degree to which the sick man complies with the doctor's orders.

The result is that millions of unearned zlotys are flowing out of the state coffers, and this is a burden on our whole society.

The fate of Polish families, the fate of the nation as a whole, depends on our common work. Among the slogans of the August protest in 1980 was the demand for appreciation of honest and solid work, its dignity and value. This ideal, however, was trodden upon and thrown away the earliest and in a most brutal way by political extremists hiding behind the union's name. It was slandered and trampled upon also by conspirators and their patrons who acted legally on the surface. This ideal of work, workers' dignity, and professional honesty cannot be fought for with stones in the streets. It is impossible to realize it with boycotts and slogans about lowering labor productivity. No demagogy of pseudounionism, no political phrase will help the working people to work better, for the good of all. With a turtle on the banners it would be impossible to emerge from the crisis.

One of the important sources of the unsatisfactory productivity and low labor productivity and also unfortunate accidents which cause so many human tragedies lies in alcohol. It is still consumed during working hours. It is even purchased in the illegal retail centers which exist in certain enterprises or nearby. We know the example of a large enterprise on the coast which had eight centers of this kind. The dimensions of the phenomenon can be seen in the fact that in just the third quarter of the current year more than 6,500 persons were turned away from the gates of enterprises for being obviously under the influence of alcohol or else for attempting to bring alcohol into the enterprise. And how many half-conscious people or people whose hands are trembling are operating complicated installations and producing products which require the proverbial watchmaker's precision? Declaring determined war on these negative phenomena is the important obligation of the apparatus of authority, and of political, social, trade union, and youth organizations, of all citizens, as well.

A climate of intolerance toward workshirking and alcoholism must be created. Society must not work hard for drunkards and loafers.

May it please the house, after the period of martial law, whose strictures compelled a particular social discipline and above all exerted a braking influence on the activeness of criminal circles, there begins to be less danger from common crime. I want to state this with complete candor. Society should realize the scale of the threat and its causes.

A front of people of goodwill is essential, directed against crime and the phenomena of social pathology which give birth to it. For even the most active counteraction undertaken by the militia and other bodies would not be as fully effective: They would be suspended in a social void.

In the first 10 months of this year about 225,000 preparatory procedures have been initiated to handle criminal offences, which is 13 percent more than last year. The increase has occurred mainly in the field of crimes against property, especially private property; but the theft and purloining of social property is also disquieting, especially on the railways, in supply transport, and in trade.

There are also still a considerable number of homicides, robberies, rapes, fights, and assault and battery.

Criminals are often impudent and ruthless. The perpetrators of many crimes choose avenues where multimillion profits may be expected, and often they are guided by outright irrational cruelty.

The aggressiveness of criminals is also directed against militia officers. During first three quarters of 1983 there were 1,066 incidents of active attacks on militiamen. Sometimes the criminals do not hesitate to resort to arms. On 7 October, on the Day of the Citizens Militia and Security Service, Senior Sergeant (Michal Kalamuszko) from Slawno was killed in the performance of duty, by criminals' bullets. The circumstances are typical: Before the tragedy happened the bandits terrorized a watchman from the transportation base and took a car. The watchman did not report this fact to either the militia or his superiors, but quietly went to sleep. A local doctor whom the criminals asked for help did not let them in because they looked too suspicious. He threw them a first-aid kit from the window. But he lacked the sense of duty and responsibility to report this fact to the militia. As a result, a man was killed, the father of three children. Two other militia officers were injured. An even bigger tragedy could have happened if the officers had used guns during the chase, having the right to do so.

Being aware of public demands, and also in accordance with the recommendations of the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, we will combat even more energetically every sign of taking advantage of the difficult economic situation in our country and of making big fortunes illegally. This is required by the class interest of the working people. Their protection, for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has the highest priority.

The militia's success in revealing economic crimes remains at the same high level as last year. More than 55,000 preparatory proceedings for offenses of this kind have been instituted in the current year. A visible increase in these activities has occurred in combating the most dangerous types of crime, above all the scandalous misappropriation of funds.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs, on the basis of the antiprofiteering law adopted by the house, has considerably intensified the fight against profiteering offenses. We have evaluated our activities according to social opinions and expections.

At present our efforts are primarily aimed against organized forms of profiteering. This profiteering is an expression of the most damaging and dangerous parasitism, one which arouses justified social condemnation.

Our activities in this sphere are resolutely supported by the Commission for Combating Profiteering, chaired by Deputy Premier Zenon Komender. During 10 months of the current year the organs of the Citizens Militia, as a result of their systematic actions and the operations they have carried out, have initiated more than 9,000 preparatory proceedings, including more than 4,000 arising from the law on combating profiteering. The misdemeanor offenses court has received more than 18,000 proceedings requests. Property valued at about half a billion zloty's has been seized to pay for property fines and tax claims.

The dangerous situation caused by these offenses, which has just been presented to the house, is what our enemies would like to see as a catastrophe stemming from our country's political system. Those who are ready to make such accusations should be referred to my previous statement in the Sejm, when I quoted comparable statistical data concerning offenses in the so-called Western democracies. They show that our position is decisively better.

Of course, there are different reasons for the statistically discernible increase in committing offenses which has recently been noted in our country. It results among other things from the intensified efforts to uncover economic crimes and criminal offenders and also from the much more severe than before and more principled reaction to the negative sides of social life. We also perceive weaknesses in the activity of some of our bodies as well. They include work organization and how well tasks are executed, where there are still deficiencies, as well as professional discipline, which falls below standard in a section of militia units.

The climate favorable to crime is also linked with the complex political-social realities of the present period. The opposition and foreign subversive centers incessently call for protests and all kinds of boycotts, for not carrying out the authorities' instructions, for sabotaging them. Cynically and in a completely premeditated manner, a climate is created in which every activity aimed against the authorities also undermines the processes of stabilization. Every infringement of the law, including theft, concealment of income, failure to buy train or streetcar tickets, and the perpetration of other misdeameanors, even criminal ones, is forgiven and treated almost like heroism.

This leads to mental damage, especially of young people -- to their depravity and moral crippling.

How eloquent and at the same time how tragic an illustration of this is an example that occurred recently: (Zbigniew Wastel) was arrested, a young man merely 20 years old, who, with several colleagues like himself formed a so-called fascist sabotage and terrorist organization. In October of this year, at the railway station in Gdynia, they set fire to four cars, causing losses amounting to more than 10 million zlotys and also committed manh other crimes. In their own minds they were carrying out a great patriotic exploit in the struggle against the communist authorities.

Recently the leaders of the underground and their propaganda loudspeaker, Radio Free Europe, have been urging workers in Poland not to carry out government orders, though they knew -- and maybe because of this -- that these orders were aimed at securing the most urgent social needs. These appeals constitute yet another terrifying testimony as to how deeply these men have sunk in their antinational positions; to how alien a concern for the fate of the working man, for society, for Poland is to them.

The amount of crime also depends on the country's current economic situation. For instance, there is a definite correlation between market shortages and the vigor of profiteering. The crime picture is also deeply influenced by crime-inducing phenomena, especially social parasitism, alcoholism, moral neglect of juveniles, and drug addition.

This latter phenomenon is most tragic. The emergence of drug addition in our country should shake the consciences of those who promote uncritically the Western way of life and present it to Poles as a model to be imitated. Drug addition, which eats away at Western societies like cancer, was once unknown to us to any appreciable extent. Unfortunately, this deeply deplorable phenomenon has, though so far on a limited scale, started to emerge in our country, too. In 1980 the militia knew of over 8,000 drug addicts and by 1982 their number had reached nearly 13,000. These figures apply only to those who have come up against the law. In fact drug addition has a wider range and the upwards trends in the number of persons addicted to drugs continues. Combating this phenomenon is exceptionally difficult. It requires the activation of a complex set of educational and therapeutic strategies, efficient cooperation between organs of the state administration and social organizations, and financial outlays.

Citizen deputies, a common national obligation and duty which will guarantee to the public its development is the protection of the young people against evil. For it spreads easiest where moral resistance and positive life motivations have not yet been fully formed. Young people, our children and grandchildren, are the hope of Poland. Facts prove that this is a justified hope.

The overwhelming majority of young people show commitment and energy based on positive convictions: patriotism and the sense of patriotic duty. However, some circles of young people have been the subject of particularly cynical and irresponsible manipulations. Efforts have been made to implant a lack of faith in the future within the young people, the sense of a lost chance. Young people at school have been urged to go on strikes, to get involved in conspiratorial activities, encouraged to take to the streets. It is tragic that sometimes teachers play an ignominious part in this along with people with high scientific degrees. Also, certain parents are not free from responsibilities in this respect.

We are pleased with the demographic development of our country, with the vitality of the nation. However, great concern must be aroused by the fact that the high birthrate is not always accompanied by a high standard of individual and social sense of responsibility for many newborn children, for their fate. During the first 6 months of the current year the citizens militia found 20,000 juveniles deprived of care and threatened by demoralization. The total number of juveniles of that kind has been estimated at 96,000.

The main allies of the militia in preventive activities and for the sake of juveniles are professional and voluntary curators and members of the ORMO [Voluntary Reserve of the Citizens Militia]. In Poland there are 1,486 specialist units of this organization, which deals with children and young people, rallying more than 14,000 social activists under whose supervision there are several tens of thousands of juveniles.

Throughout the country, 31 militia children's chambers operate. Every year, more than 20,000 juveniles from 3 to 18 years of age pass through them. Apart from giving emergency care and aid, the chambers are also concerned with improving the care and environment of the local juvenile population. They take under their wing families affected by social pathology. They run an advisory service on child rearing for families. They also organize training for militia officials and for students who are doing practical training at the chambers in the field of resocialization.

We would like to broaden the activities of militia children's chambers and to improve the conditions under which they function. They are now functioning as well as possible within their limitations, but cannot meet the increased cadre, premises, and financial requirements. Support from various social institutions and organizations is small or totally negligible.

Charitable aid does not flow as generously to children's chambers as to those who do not need it as badly or do not deserve it. I state this with great regret.

May it please the house, I present a picture of crime and social pathology as head of the ministry responsible for public security with more than a little concern. I would like to inform the citizen deputies, that, carrying out the instructions of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, we are stepping up the fight against all kinds of negative phenomena, in all areas of crime and social pathology. We will use all essential means envisaged in the law for more effective repulse of attacks on social property and that of the citizen.

I have instructed the apparatus subordinate to me, and not only the Citizens' Militia but the security service, to step up activity to uncover and prevent crime and to call officials to account regularly for its results.

We are consistently implementing the act passed by the chamber of the Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs. We are improving the organization of work; we are improving discipline and the quality of the tasks performed; we are improving organizational and employment structures. We also see other possibilities for improving the effectiveness of our services' activity, especially because we will be counting on indispensable and widely understood public support. We intend to deepen cooperation with all institutions which share responsibility for law and order in the country. We highly appreciate the Supreme Chamber of Control helping us and also the prosecutors bodies and administration of justice which are giving shape to the penal policy.

However, the increasing criminality, aggressiveness, and brutality of criminals, which I have already mentioned, make it necessary to consider tightening penal jurisdiction. Some court sentences in the cases of criminal and economic offenses meet with social disapproval and astonishment. This does have some influence on the activity of forces of law and order and consequently on the spread of some kinds of serious criminal offenses. In effectively combating the crime against property, an important role should be played by full civil liability of the perpetrators, executed with absolute consistency.

Waste, destroying property, stealing property should not pay. Not enough responsibility has been taken for this. Neither the enterprises of socialized economy suffering the losses nor the courts use all existing legal possibilities in order to compensate the losses. It seemed justified, making the perpetrators who collectively destroy the property bear civil liability. This joint liability is used in many highly developed Western countries. It would also be justified to equip the forces of law and order with new, socially approved legal ways to make combating crime more effective.

On 2 December of the current year, the session of the Council of Ministers was held at which I presented the report on the state of security and public order in our country. The Council of Ministers, accepting the assessment and the proposals presented, passed a resolution on setting up a Committee for the Observance of the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline. In the next few days, its text will be published.

Citizen deputies, today's deliberations of the chamber are not given over to budget and financial matters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, so I do not intend to go into them at greater length. I think, however, that in the face of various insinuations, the incessant, rabid, and lying propaganda hounding of Citizens' Militia officials and the security services, it is my duty to point out to the chamber that we in the ministry, as is the case throughout the country, are struggling with no small difficulties.

The [word indistinct] of the officials is increasing relatively slowly to that in other professional groups, particularly in industry. Almost one in every five ministry officials is waiting for an apartment; in many cases, this applies to longtime employees.

Difficult material conditions, frequent danger to life and health, particularly onerous tasks keep taking their toll in that experienced cadres crumble more quickly than in other professions and the insufficient influx of new cadres does not compensate for this loss.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs and all its officials are aware of their responsible social function. We act in the interest of society and we want to have its genuine, deserved respect and recognition. We have undertaken a number of measures to improve the atmosphere of social understanding and support for our efforts. This finds expression, above all, in the most often possible work of the ministry and also in the parallel, equally important preventive, humanitarian, and repressive measures.

Citizens' Militia and security service officials show great conscientiousness in implementing the task set before them. They are characterized by a wholehearted ideological foundation [ideowosc] and discipline, by the profound conviction of social benefit of the function they perform.

But it is a fact that, as in every professional milieu, we, too, have cases of infringement of the law, of lapses in professional ethics and service discipline. I have already informed the chamber in greater detail about this. We take firm and severe action toward all such phenomena. This year, prosecutor's offices, at the recommendation of voivodship offices of internal affairs, have sent acts of indictment to the courts against 30 officials who committed crimes. Up to the end of November the courts examined and pronounced sentences on 18 Citizens' Militia officials. Regardless of penal proceedings, officials bear disciplinary responsibility. For more serious misdemeanors, the most frequently applied disciplinary punishment is expulsion from the force. It entails the curtailment of the acquired financial pension rights by 50 percent of the right to continuity of work, and loss of the right to return to service in the militia. This is, then, a painful punishment. This year it was meted out to 145 officials.

I would like to point out that this situation shows a real improvement in comparison with previous years. This has been determined by the effective and consistent process of purifying our ranks of superfluous people who are not worthy of discharging the responsible duties of the protection of public order.

Also conducive to improvement of officials' moral and political states are internal educational mechanisms, an important part of which is the work of the party and youth organizations and activities of the political upbringing apparatus, councils of Citizens' Militia officials, courts of honor, and other bodies.

Just as we do not tolerate negative phenomena in our ranks, we do not intend to hide them from the community. Guided by the conviction that unearthing unfavorable facts is conducive to building social trust, we report them to the esteemed house and detailed communiques are imparted to the public by the mass media. We are open to all constructive motions and proposals. A good atmosphere surrounding the Citizens' Militia and the security services is conducive to streamlining their work, to better results in the detection of crime and criminals, efficiency in combating all adverse phenomena.

We listen willingly and with gratitude to all critical observations as long as they aim at perfecting our service, at stepping up its results; as long as they are motivated by a friendly attitude toward us and the understanding of social needs. We want to work better and more effectively. We will do everything possible to implement as well as possible our tasks and duties, for the good of our community and the socialist state. [applause]

Reports on Budget, Credits

LD051614 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Correspondent's dispatch from the Sejm]

[Text] Finance Minister Stanislaw Nieckarz outlined the third point of today's Sejm agenda: the main provisions of the budget bill and of the draft resolution concerning the balance of payments.

He stated that the state's financial situation has improved in comparison with the past year. The budget will close with a deficit half the size of what was projected in the budget act for the current year. Higher revenue from turnover tax and from other budget debits is responsible for the fact that the situation has developed in this way. However, the revenue from income tax was smaller, owing to the considerable scope of relief granted. It was, however, found that it was impossible to curtail expenditure, especially where substantive subsidies [dotacje przedmiotowe] are concerned. The draft budget for the next year also provides for their further growth, to the tune of from Z470 billion to Z603 billion, Minister Nieckarz stated.

Minister Nieckarz subsequently discussed the sources of the budget revenue. The highest revenue of the budget will come from the turnover tax. Income tax will also be an important source for the budget. Its new construction provides the basis for curtailing the scope of relief granted.

The finance minister devoted a considerable part of his speech to the draft balance of payments, stressing that we can count on the fact that the part of the balance of payments accounted for by the mutual turnover with the socialist countries will shape up.

At the close of his speech Minister Stanislaw Nieckarz stated that he foresees that next year the Finance Ministry will intensify the control work applying, in equal measure, to the socialized and the nonsocialized sectors of the economy. The minister moved that the 1984 budget act he passed and that the resolution on the balance of payments be passed as well, making the proposal on behalf of the government.

Stanislaw Majewski, president of the Polish National Bank [NSP] proposed the credits plan, the balance of the population's money income and expenditure, and the provisions of the money and credits policy of the banks for the year 1984, approved by the Council of Ministers.

The implementation of the banks' credits policy is not firm enough, Stanislaw Majewski said. There are a number of those [szereg jednostek] who can expect proceedings to give them a clean bill of health [postepowanie uzdrawiajace] or even to go into liquidation. The president emphasized that in such cases the banks will consistently carry out their statutory rights and that leniency cannot be expected from them.

Unfavorable trends can be observed in investments. In industry only approximately 10 percent of investment expenditure goes to the development of means of production. It is intended to apply preferential treatment in the credits policy. This will facilitate the essential structural changes in the sphere of investments and production. In particular, the banks intend to intensify the policy of making money difficult to obtain [polityka trudnego pieniadza]. For instance, as of the beginning of the next year the NBP wishes to raise the interest rate on most new credits to 12 percent.

It is envisaged that next year retail prices will rise by approximately 15 percent. If next year's inflation rate is 15 percent, considerable progress will have been achieved in the process of slowing it down. The attainment of this target, Stanislaw Majewski stressed, would make for a considerable slowing down of the rate of currency depreciation and a more efficent protection of it purchasing power.

Deputies are now discussing the third point of today's agenda.

Report on Fiscal Problems

LD052243 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 5 Dec (PAP) -- Stanislaw Majewski, chairman of the NBP, presented to the Sejm a credit plan approved by the Council of Ministers, a balance of the population's monetary income and expenditure, and the tenets of the fiscal-credit policy of the banks for 1984. Stanislaw Majewski, chairman of the NBP, announced that there will be an increase in the interest rate for credit for the private sector of the economy and for the population, with the exception of credit for housing construction. On average, the percentage surcharge will rise by 2 points.

He pointed out that the growth in production output for 1983 may be estimated at approximately 7 percent. However, the growth of the volume of consumer goods will not be more than 4 percent. Because of this tendency, it has proved impossible to reduce inflation and market instability to the degree envisaged by the central plan for the year. At the same time there was an increase in the population's planned money income by more than 12 percent, which means nearly Z470 billion.

It is envisaged that during next year retail prices will rise by 15 percent. Achievement of an inflation index of 15 percent in 1984 would represent substantial progress in the process of slowing down inflation, when compared with an index of over 100 percent for 1982 and about 23 percent during the current year.

State Of Emergency Law Approved

LD051949 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Excerpts] Here is a report from the Sejm. Right now a debate on the amendment to the passport law is in progress and deputy Zygmunt Surowiec is speaking. Let us return to procedings earlier today.

One of the items on the agenda today was presented by Deputy (Zofia Kalisz). It was a report by two Sejm commissions on the draft law on the state of emergency. Legal acts of this significance and this type are already in force in the majority of countries, both capitalist and socialist countries. Before the war two such laws were passed in Poland.

The introduction of a state of emergency can take place:

first, in the case of natural disaster on the entire territory of Poland or a large area of Poland, which would endanger the life and health of large numbers of people or which would threaten property to a large extent or which could cause considerable disruption to the national economy;

second, in the case of serious danger to, or infringement of, peace, order, and public order over a large area of the state which would require extraordinary means to protect the fundamental interests of the state and its citizens.

The number of restrictions which would come into force automatically after the introduction of a state of emergency is relatively small. Further restrictions would be introduced if needed by order of the government or relevant ministers.

After debate the Sejm approved the law on the state of emergency with two votes against and ten abstentions.

Deputy Zygmunt Surowiec is still speaking. That is the end of our report from today's session of the Sejm which will no doubt go on until very late in the evening.

Jablonski Relieved of Post

LD052126 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Excerpts] The discussions of the PPR Sejm are the event of the day.

The seventh point on today's agenda is changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers. Sejm Deputy Marshal Zbigniew Gertych read the premier's letter on the resignation of Minister Wladyslaw Jablonski from the position of minister and member of the Council of Ministers. The Sejm recalled Wladyslaw Jablonski from the post of minister [without portfolio].

In view of the late hour, two items of the agenda were eliminated: changes in the composition of the Socioeconomic Council and written and other questions of the deputies. Amendments to the composition of Sejm commissions ended today's discussions of the parliament, which lasted for almost 12 hours.

MILITARY GROUPS TO START NATIONAL OPERATION

LD051912 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] A new national operation of the military operational groups will start tomorrow at a directive from Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the National Defense Committee.

The state of preparation and defense preparedness of local units will be inspected in the operation. The working of various public services responsible for transport, postal and telecommunication lines, municipal economy, including housing conditions and conditions in the places of domicile and supplies and services to the community will be assessed. The operational groups will also undertake preparations for the winter. The operations will encompass urban and rural areas virtually throughout the country.

These measures have been brought about the exacerbated international situation, which calls for the stepping up of concern for the proper discharge of universal duties to defend the PPR.

Aims of Operation Explained

LD061317 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 6 Dec 83

[Report from Bydgoszcz by correspondent Maciej Pakulski]

[Text] [Pakulski] Today, as we know, the new nationwide operation by military operational groups begins. What is the aim of bringing them into action again? I put this question to the deputy commander for territorial defense affairs of the Pomorze Military District, Major General Franciszek Kaminski.

[Kaminski] The first thing is to maintain continuity of this activity. As we see it, after finishing their activity the operational groups left behind many comments and instructions for removing shortcomings. And it is an old rule, an unambiguous rule in the Army: If there was an instruction, its execution must be checked. The introduction of the groups now has, among other things, the purpose of checking how these matters were carried out. The determined elimination of negative phenomena in social life will also be checked: negative phenomena in the economcy, in the administration, mainly elements of negligence, wastefulness, bad management. In sum, the lack of sensitivity to human aff affairs.

[Pakulski] As I understand it, the regional operational groups will end their activity before the end of this month. They will certainly amass very rich material concerning the functioning of amlost all spheres of our life. What will the further fate of that material be?

[Kaminski] As always, we have accepted principles. We will send all uncovered shortcomings to those responsible for them and then, after a certain specified length of time, we will check up again.

SOLIDARITY CALLS FOR 16 DEC DEMONSTRATIONS

NC052101 Paris AFP in English 2058 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 5 (AFP) -- The clandestine leadership of the banned Solidarity trade union has called a nationwide demonstration next week to commemorate the 13th anniversary of the Gdansk revolt and the deaths of nine miners killed while protesting the imposition of marital law two years ago.

"On December 16, we are going to commemorate the dead and demonstrate our will to struggle by organizing peaceful demonstrations throughout the country," the latest issue of the clandestine TKK bulletin said. "We will leave our jobs together for marches and gatherings organized by regional committees at the town squares throughout the country," the bulletin, dated December 1, said. The underground Solidarity leaders warned the government against "attempting to intervene in the peaceful demonstrations."

In December 1970, workers in Gdansk took to the streets in a massive revolt against steep increases in food prices and brought about the downfall of the late Polish leader Wladyslaw Gomulka. On December 16, 1981, Polish security forces killed nine miners in Katowice, southern Poland, who revolted against the imposition of martial law three days earlier. "December 16 has been recognized by Poles as the day of memory for those who paid the supreme price in the struggle for just rights," TKK said.

RZECZPOSPOLITA REOPENS ATTACK ON WALESA

AU051655 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1550 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw -- Workers leader Lech Walesa was criticized today in the Polish press for the first time in weeks. The government paper RZECZPOSPOLITA accused Walesa of having "supported with unflagging enthusiasm" the Western sanctions following the imposition of martial law. The Polish media campaign against the workers' leader was broken off after the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize 2 months ago.

WALESA 'URGES' U.S. TO LIFT 'CERTAIN' SANCTIONS

OW051755 Hong Kong AFP in English 1718 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, Dec 5 (AFP) -- Lech Walesa today for the first time publicly urged the lifting of certain sanctions taken by the United States and other Western countries against Poland after the state of siege was proclaimed in December 1981. The head of the banned Solidarity Trade Union cited at a press conference such measures as Washington's ban on Polish ships using U.S. fishing waters and Polish civil aircraft using U.S. airspace. As a "symbol of international solidarity" against the state of siege, Mr Walesa said, such sanctions "had their effect," but now that the situation had changed they could be lifted.

He was cautious however over the question of lifting the principal sanction: the freeze of Western credits to Poland. He said any resumption of credits should be tied in with a pledge that the money would be used "for society's welfare and not squandered." Provided such a guarantee was obtained, he added, he was nothing against resumed credits. "As for me," he said, "I am a private individual. I have no right to oversee the use of such credits and I am not qualified to tell anyone to grant them or not."

Mr Walesa expressed the view that the current situation in Poland, particularly the rises in food prices set for the start of next year, might lead to demonstrations and even strikes. He said he was against street protests, for it was "useless" to confront, the police. "We can work in depth," he said, "for we are strong in industry."

WALESA CONFIRMS WIFE'S JOURNEY TO OSLO

NC051658 Paris AFP in English 1654 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, Dec 5 (AFP) -- Lech Walesa said here today his wife Danuta and eldest son Bogdan, aged 13, will be in Oslo next weekend to collect his Nobel Peace Prize. The leader of the banned Solidarity trade union told a press conference his wife and son will go to Oslo regardless of whether former Solidarity adviser Tadeusz Mazowiechi is able to accompany them. A request by Mr Mazoniecki for a passport is still being studied, according to the authorities. Mr Walesa said he hoped Mr Mazowiecki would be allowed to make the journey, but if not, "we shall name someone else to represent us (Solidarity)." His wife and son will leave Warsaw on Friday for Copenhagen at 0:30 a.m. local en route to Oslo, Mr Walesa said.

JARUZELSKI, USSR MINISTER SPEAK ON MINERS' DAY

1983 Production Reviewed

LD032119 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1555 GMT 3 Dec 83

[Speech by Czeslaw Piotrowski, minister of mining and power industry, at meeting in Zabrze, Silesia to mark Miners Day -- live]

[Excerpt] Esteemed guests, dear brother miners: Miners Day has a long tradition, and this year it has brought us together for this ceremony in the company of representatives of all branches of Polish mining. The miners' holiday is the day on which Polish miners sum up the results of the year's work, assess the achievements, consider together the further prospects for their development and life. It is also traditional for the most eminent representatives of our country to participate in the Miners Day celebrations. Permit me, then, brother miners, in opening today's ceremonial meeting, to welcome, on your behalf, our guests today, headed by First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Chairman of the National Defense Committee, and, at the same time, honorary miner of the PPR, General Wojciech Jaruzelski. [applause]

I warmly welcome the representatives of the diplomatic corps of friendly countries. I warmly welcome the mining delegations from the fraternal socialist countries, headed by minister of mining of the Soviet Union, deputy chairman of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society, Comrade Boris Bratchenko; and director of the Ostrava-Karvina concern, Comrade Otava. [applause]

Esteemed gathering, 1983 is coming to an end. It was not an easy year for any of us. It did not bring solutions to the series of outstanding problems, but we are celebrating this year's Miners Day in a different climate from last December. Let us recall this at least: At that time martial law was still in force, with all its limitations and burdens. A year later we can celebrate Miners Day in an atmosphere of normalization of social moods. This is our great, national success. It also includes the immense achievement of the mining industry, which was the first to give an impetus to the revival of the economy and initiated the positive changes in it.

The year ending was a successful one for Polish hard coal mining, despite the difficulties. The forecasts of false prophets, that hard coal extraction would never again reach the level prior to 1980, turned out to be wrong. The activities of our enemies, abroad and at home, directed at the breakdown of the mining industry, also misfired. The mining community is marked by a traditional sense of responsibility and professional discipline. Thanks to this, the coal mining industry, over the whole year, worked with a sense of civic duty, with dignity and at a regular pace. The planned targets were systematically achieved. This is a great success, not only economically but politically, as well. Taking into consideration the implementation of this year's production tasks and the future prospects taking shape in the next few weeks, one can expect that this year the production of hard coal will exceed of 190 million metric tons. This shows the high degree of utilization of the existing production capacity. It is also an uncontrovertible fact that this production figure has guaranteed this year full coverage of the country's economic needs. The reserve stocks of coal in industry and particularly in the power industry have been built up to a level never achieved before. The coal needs of the population were also fully met, as were the needs of the communal economy. We have begun to augment the state coal reserves. Coal exports will also exceed last year's by about 6 million metric tons, and that to both payments zones.

It will amount in total this year to more than 35 million metric tons. This means that the attempts at permanent expulsion of Poland from world coal markets have not been successful. After the breakdown in exports in 1980-81, we are returning to our traditional markets. We are also getting new ones.

Other branches of the Polish mining industry also have achieved successful results. Lignite miners will produce more than 42 million metric tons this year, that is almost 5 million metric tons more than last year. Copper ore production will increase by 2 million metric tons over last year, for a total of 29 million metric tons. Zinc ore and lead production will be 5.8 million metric tons, that is also more than last year. Petroleum and gas, sulfur, salt and other chemical raw materials, rock raw materials mining, and the remaining utility minerals' mining have also achieved positive results.

On behalf of the leadership of the Ministry of Mining and Power Industry and with the authorization of the leaderships of the ministries supervising the activity of other branches of mining, I give the warmest miner's thanks to all employees of the hard coal and lignite mining industry, petroleum mining, copper ore, zinc, lead, iron, sulfur and salt, and other minerals, and also to the employees of rock mining and to drillers, geologists, mining machinery industry employees, and mining construction employees, to the scientific employees connected with the mining industry, to the teams of the design and scientific-technical back-up to the mining industry. I want to express words of the highest recognition and respect to the whole mining brotherhood for their toil, self-denial and involvement, for their civic attitude and patriotism shown through regular and productive work and therefore in the form which is the most valuable today to our socialist fatherland.

Jaruzelski Speech

LD031903 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1643 GMT 3 Dec 83

[Speech by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, premier and PZPR Central Committee first secretary, at meeting in Zabrze, Silesia to mark Miners' Day -- live]

[Text] Dear miner comrades, esteemed assembly: Poland and its economy rest upon many pillars. One of them -- a particularly strong, healthy, unfailing one -- is constructed and consolidated daily by the toil of the miners. It is priceless. It contributes to enlivening the whole economy. It is your work today that makes it possible to satisfy the country's requirements for hard coal, to build up coal stocks, to increase exports. Through your work the country acquires brown coal, copper, sulfur, lead and zinc, gas and oil, salt and raw materials from the earth. Your work gives the most complete expression of the worker's awareness, selflessness, and sense of patriotic responsibility.

For all this, dear miner brothers, you deserve words of sincere recognition and esteem. You deserve heartfelt thanks. To each according to his labor -- this socialist principle of social justice, applied to the miners, means according to his hard and especially difficult and responsible labor. This fully justifies the continuation of the active wages and welfare policy for your benefit, the consolidation of the miners' well-earned gains. We count on the workforces, the technical inspectors, the directors of the miners, to confirm this through increasingly effective work, through cost reductions and thrifty use of materials, through scrupulous care for the installations and machines. We expect that the creative ideas of the scientific workers, the engineers and technicians, the inventors and streamliners will go out to meet these needs. We believe that the independence and self-managing trade unions, which are consolidating themselves, the workers' self-management, will ensure that those who truly deserve it can avail themselves of the opportunities created through shared labor.

At the same time we have not forgotten the other mining needs. Heading the list is work safety. It must be treated with the greatest vigilance and sensitivity. Increased concern is also required for health protection, communal and other matters, and to prevent the devastation and pollution of the environment.

Soon the Government Presidium and Katowice Voivodship authorities, with the participation of the invited representatives of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth, trade unions, and youth organizations, will consider the whole set of these complex problems. How do we see the future of the mining industry today? It will remain the fundamental branch of our national economy. It is well known, however, that the mere maintenance of the present level of production of coal and other minerals will require great investment. We are determined to maintain this level and, despite difficulties, to allocate the necessary means.

In order to find the funds for this it is necessary to make the best use of what we do have; it is necessary to save coal, raw and other materials, and electrical power. This is not an easy task, but it is still vitally important.

The situation, however, is new. We created it at the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Needs have increased, outstanding issues have mounted, dangers have accumulated. The population of Poland, which is growing rapidly, must live increasingly better, not worse. This means that our industry must produce more and that our soil must bear crops more abundantly, that water and air must be protected. We must not lag in technological progress. Housing, health, educational and cultural needs must be met.

This is a task matching the era. At the same time it is a task of greatest urgency. We can and we must take it up and fulfill it. This is not a mere slogan but a profound conviction that patriotism and the talents of our nation, the strength and creative abilities ofsocialism and the great resources inherent in our economy make this task a realistic objective. Your achievements confirm this best. The stance of the working class is the best evidence, the stance which has voiced itself during the immensely difficult period for our country.

Esteemed participants of this meeting, 1983 is drawing to a close. This has been a difficult year but a better one than 1982. Now it is important that 1984 is better than the current one. The necessary premises for this are present.

We have bounced off the bottom. This is clearly confirmed by statistics. However, we know that statistics do not determine the social climate, the feelings of the citizen. This requires time. This requires a more tangible improvement in the market and, above all, in living conditions.

People have a tough life. Our party, which understands the workers' needs and worries, will do everything possible to alleviate the difficulties, to overcome them more rapidly, to distribute the costs of the crisis. But it is not possible to reduce them by distributing empty money not backed up by commodities.

The results of the unrestrained pay and social demands based on demagogic postulates, the strike madness, is now behind us. We will not allow a return to this class in the school of life. Anyone who wants to serve the working man is under the obligation to put lucidly and honestly the difficult, unpopular issues. We approach them with a heavy heart. Every possibility of maintaining the standard of living of the working man, of assisting the economically weakest groups, in particular the pensioners and annuitants, is being examined repeatedly.

It is impossible to run away from the raw necessities. These include the proposal to increase food prices. The discussions have already yielded vast material. It is easy to understand that it is bitter; no one applauds a price increase. Many realistic, concrete proposals have emerged. We will treat them with the attention they deserve. We will welcome all possibilities of alleviating the results of this operation.

Allow me to repeat what I said on this subject when summing up the deliberations of the 14th plenum. Our duty is to see that the results of a price increase or other economically imperative measures is more than offset by increased productivity and thrift through additional work and the creation of conditions in which one would do more and earn more in a sound and economically justified manner. It is, therefore, not true that the government gives and takes away as it pleases. Prices do not cease, even for a moment, to depend on the overall economic situation, on the size, the cost of production, and, above all, on the quality of work and husbandry. Prosperity is neither given nor taken away. Prosperity is created through work not only year in and year out, but also day after day, hour after hour.

This is the road along which we must march, consistently and patiently. Comrades and citizens, today's festivities -- the men who perform the most onerous tasks, to whom they are consecrated, the local region, always loyal to the fatherland -- justify and compel us to tackle from this rostrum an issue of very great importance to the destiny of the nation. I have in mind the international situation. It is heading in a dangerous direction.

All we do to strengthen Poland through our work, accord, and internal stabilization is thus of greater significance. Nobody who is aware and thinking can examine Poland's situation separately from what is happening in the world, and particularly in Europe closer to us. The attainment of military balance has been a difficult and long lasting process for the Soviet Union and Warsaw pact states. This balance is, however, from the point of view of history, one of the greatest achievements of mankind. The building of peace has been based on this. The deployment of new U.S. missiles is undermining the balance of power that has been established on our continent. It is detrimental to the security of the socialist community. It directly increases the dangers to us. The Hitlerite Luftwaffe needed several dozen minutes or so to reach the main centers of Poland. The U.S. missiles, which would come from the bases in Western Europe, would be able to reach targets in our country within minutes. Then, a bomb was capable of damaging one house. Now, a nuclear warhead is capable of sweeping away even the biggest city from the surface of the earth. This is the dimension of the threat. This is the measure of responsibility.

I am speaking about this with full openness, not to sow fear, but to make every citizen aware that the political and military situation has entered a new, worrying phase. We are and will continue to be in solidarity with the Soviet Union. It painfully experienced the cruelties of the war. It contributed in a decisive manner to the victory over Nazism. It is defending the cause of peace resolutely. It is an unfailing guarantee of our just borders. Therefore, we received the statement of Yuriy Andropov with understanding and approval. He sees things as they really are. He announced measures aimed at ensuring the security of the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist community.

At the same time, we fully appreciate the readiness to return to the far-reaching proposals full of the spirit of compromise, concerning the limitation and reduction of arms if the United States and other countries return to the situation before the start of the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe. Poland also has a

political and moral right to voice its opinions resolutely in issues concerning security and peace. This right is much greater than that of those countries which have never in their history experienced bombs dropping on them and whose leaders have only watched explosions of shells on films.

Our country has fulfilled the role of the cocreator of detente for 4 decades. It has been one of the architects of the CSCE. It has undertaken a number of initiatives with a great sense of responsibility for a peace which would be lasting and undivided.

It then became subject to attack. This is manifested with particular perfidy in the sanctions, which are being most sharply felt by the economy, and hence in practice by Polish families, Polish children. But the U.S. Administration miscalculated. One can aim missiles at Poland, but Poland cannot be forced to its knees. The Polish Government will always act in accordance with the injunctions of the dignity and pride of our nation. I spoke of this in Jastrzebie exactly a year ago, and I repeat it today. President Reagan succeeded in 2 years in wrecking what had been created in Polish-American relations over many decades. The great American people have been led astray. I believe that the time will come when it sees through this ill-fated game and understands, but in the meantime the United States itself is deserting Poland. We do not announce any mourning over the fact. What is more, it will probably be for our good: many people will lose their illusions. Friendship that is unreliable, fair-weather friendship, is no more than empty noise.

The most sickening to see, however, are those Poles who remain silent on this matter, and particularly those who support the U.S. sanctions. They are in a blind alley. Perhaps they will wish to get out of this without losing face, carrying out certain cosmetic operations in advance. Obviously it is better late than never. What is more, the Polish Government has a duty to not merely expect of Polish citizens but demand of them that they desist from attitudes that contradict the vital interests of the nation and the state, that they display a civic loyalty to the note we addressed to the U.S. Administration on 3 November this year. The PPR Government does not intend to depart from the message it contained.

In this period, which has been so difficult for us, we have been clearly convinced of the significance and unfailing nature of the idea of internationalism, of the socialist alliances. This has been repeatedly confirmed by the exceptionally favorable economic, scientific, and technological contracts -- which are of great long-term significance -- concluded several days ago with the Soviet Union. The fruitful cooperation is gaining a new breadth of spirit, especially as a result of the visits by Comrades Erich Honecker, Janos Kadar, and Gustav Husak. Cooperation with the other socialist countries is developing well. Relations are shaping up favorably with the majority of developing countries and with a considerable proportion of capitalist countries. It has not proven possible to isolate Poland. In the matter of Poland the very instigators of the hullabulloo aimed against us are the ones who are gradually becoming isolated.

Dear miners, your work, by its very nature, does not just require the well-organized group effort of many people; it also calls for mutual confidence in each other.

The word accord has a positive content in a mine. One can say that you reach it among yourselves every day, underground, at the coal face, regardless of differences in life-history, experience, belief or opinions. The basis for accord is to the same extent joint work for the good of the homeland and for the direct, personal benefit of each miner. It is completely unimportant here who came from where, who was in which trade union and when. Only one's attitude and, above all, what

one is today is important. That is how we understand, in line with the intention of the ninth congress, the meaning of national accord, on a nationwide scale. That is how we want to implement it unalterably.

However, there is no accord with those who stubbornly stand by the discordant seasonal melody that has passed and will never return. There is no accord with those who see the only sense of their activity in frantic attacks on socialism. There is no accord with those who promise the government the earth in the morning and in the evening execute various antistate contortions for hostile radio stations and newspapers. It is not they who make the decision, however; there are fewer and fewer of them; they are becoming weaker and weaker. History does not wait for laggards. The future belongs to socialism. There is no room in socialism for anarchy, for destructive activities. There is room for true and broad democracy. Our party is striving to broaden worker participation in government, management, and control; to increase the influence of working people in all spheres of life, in speeding up the emergence from crisis. There is not much time left until the end of the twentieth century. It is our national duty to use this time in the best possible way. Accord and respecting understandable human variety creates the nation's ability to link striving and actions in one main current. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is the fruit of this simple idea. It is also the overcoming of many injuries and barriers and the rebirth of the social activeness of millions of citizens. This is necessary and will increase; this is a right of life, of reason, of patriotism; a right and duty in the service of the homeland.

Brothers, miners, your trade has a long tradition of many centuries in Poland. It releases and molds the most attractive traits of a worker and human values. In connection with the 40th anniversary of socialist People's Poland, we stated that we are building it brick upon brick; but we are also building it one lump of coal after another. We can be proud of this.

On behalf of the party leadership, the allied parties, the government, and the state authorities I would like to express profound appreciation for your hard and fruitful labor. I warmly thank all miners for their daily work, for their contribution to the socialist character of our country, and for dedication to the cause of the homeland. I bow to the mothers of miners. I cordially greet all those dearest to them. I express deep respect to mining veterans, and wish them good health and satisfaction due for well-discharged duty to the nation. I direct greetings and wholehearted encouragement to the young who are training for work in the mines. Let your knowledge, zeal, and energy serve Poland well. From the bottom of my heart I send best wishes to miners and their families. Long live the mining vocation! [applause]

USSR Minister's Address

LD040101 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1625 GMT 3 Dec 83

[Speech by Boris Bratchenko, USSR minister of the coal industry, at meeting in Zabrze, Silesia to mark Miners' Day, in Russian -- live]

[Summary] I bring you greetings from all Soviet miners on Polish Miners' Day. The friendly ties between Soviet and Polish miners are in line with CEMA mutual cooperation.

"Now, at a time when (?the warning bells sound endlessly over the planet), at a time when U.S. and NATO (?crusaders) of anti-Communism are threatening to plunge the whole world into nuclear disaster, the further strengthening of the socialist community becomes the most urgent and most vitally important task. The statement

of Comrade Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received the warm approval of Soviet people, of the socialist countries, and of all progressive mankind. In it our country's position on the commencement of the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe is set out precisely and firmly. Soviet people understand just how complex and responsible is the time in which we are living, and they are full of resolve to strengthen by their shock labor the economic and defensive might of the homeland and the entire socialist camp, and to be ready to give a rebuff to the nuclear maniacs from Washington."

World War II claimed the lives of 20 million Russians and many thousands of Poles. "And today we understand and closely feel the solidarity of the Polish people expressed by Comrade Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, who [words indistinct] stated that in the situation that has arisen -- a dangerous situation -- the PPR considers it to be the main task of its foreign policy to strengthen the might and cohesion of the Warsaw Pact states, which is the reliable guarantor of just state borders and the peace and the security of our peoples. At the same time, speaking about the improvement there is still possible in the climate of detente in international politics, Comrade Jaruzelski welcomed the willingness of the Soviet Union to return to its proposals on the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments in Europe in the event of the situation which existed before the start of the deployment of U.S. medium range missiles on the continent of Europe being restored."

The recent CEMA session in Berlin was an important step on the path of further cooperation among the socialist countries.

An important factor contributing to our country's economic might is the implementation of the energy program, in which an important part is played by the coal industry. "At present in the Soviet Union more than 700 million metric tons of coal is mined annually: 60 pecent is produced by underground mines and 40 percent by open cast mines. The continually growing solid fuel needs of the national economy require that we continue to build up production capacities. Particular attention is being paid to increasing the production of coking coals at mines in the Donetsk, Kuznetsk, Karaganda and Pechora basins, and also to developing at an accelerated pace the production of energy coals by open cast mining in the eastern parts of the country where the chief proportion of coal resources is concentrated. Scientific and technological achievements are the firm foundation for high output in the coal industry. "A patriotic movement is underway to step up the output of individual comprehensively-mechanized workings to no less than 1,000 metric tons of coal per day. Today such workings provide 40 percent of all the coal produced. The open cast mining of coal is being developed at an accelerated pace, and the proportion of coal produced by this method during this decade will reach 48-50 percent. This will be brought about chiefly by the creation of fuel and energy complexes in the Ekibastuz, Kank-Achinsk, and South Yakut basins, as well as a further increase in coal production from open cast mines in the Kuzbass."

Polish miners make a weighty contribution to their country's economy, and their heroic work is a source of pleasure to the Soviet people. The successes of the Polish coal industry are promoted by the friendship between our countries, and we hope that our cooperation will continue.

POLITBURO DIRECTIVES ON 13TH PLENUM TASKS

AU031930 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 23 Nov 83 pp 11-14

["The Tasks of Party Cells and Organizations in Implementing the Resolutions of the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum -- Directives of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] The 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum detailed the party's task in implementing the line of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. In its resolution the Central Committee approved the evaluations and lines of the party's ideological activities as presented in the Politburo report and in the speech made by Comrade First Secretary W. Jaruzelski and adopted these evaluations and lines as directives for party work in the period preceding the 10th PZPR Congress. The Central Committee also adopted resolutions on celebrating the 40th anniversary of People's Poland, on cadre policy, and on the accountability-election campaign in the party, and addressed to the people its appeal for national unity in the struggle against dangers to peace.

The substance of those documents should be carefully mastered by party members and should be extensively propagated throughout our society. These documents are the foundation on which party cells and organizations should determine their own tasks. In particular it is necessary to:

-- develop plans for implementing the 13th plenum resolutions in all party cells and in the bodies of the ideological front;

-- hold training meetings in primary party organizations in November of this year on the subject "Party Members' Tasks in Strengthening the PZPR's Leading Role Following the 12th and 13th Central Committee Plenums" and to include the documents of the 13th plenum in all forms of training of party aktivs and members;

-- base the accountability-election campaign on the 13th plenum's ideological and political evaluations applied to the specific conditions under which the PZPR primary organizations and cells operate.

Accountability-election meetings and conferences will determine the tasks of party organizations and cells for the new term. The consistent implementation of these tasks will help implement the ideological principles of socialism under specific conditions of party activities.

I. Strengthening Ties With the Working People Is the Foundation of the PZPR's Leading Role

The implementation of workers' interests, values, and aspirations, the strengthening of the leading role of the workers class in social life, and the consolidation and development of the alliance of workers, peasants, and the working intelligentsia are the basic tasks of the party's mandate.

The party will create premises for expanding the working masses' participation in the process of government and decision-making through the activities of representative bodies and the development of trade union and self-management organizations.

1. Party organizations and cells should support the development of trade unions, which are the most universal organizations of the workers class, and back their activities in defending the interests of workers, in developing the principles of wages that ensure a close relation between wages and the amount of quality of work, in ensuring good work organization and the exploitation of the possibilities created by the economic reform for boosting the effectiveness of economic management, and in overcoming red tape, indifference, and arrogance, which continue to assert themselves in some bodies of economic and state administration.

Activizing workers self-management bodies and stimulating their activities to increase production, to raise production quality, to lower costs, and to adapt the structure of production to the needs of the country and export is an important task.

The principles of cooperation among various social and trade union organizations in production enterprises, especially among the organizations of trade unions and workers self-management bodies, will be developed in January 1984.

Party organizations and cells should ensure that party members who work in workers self-management bodies and trade union organizations undergo general and political training.

The consistent implementation of the proposals submitted at the conference of worker aktivs, at the meeting between the PZPR first secretary and the trade union aktivs of the Baildon foundry, and at the session of young workers who are party members continues to be a crucial task. In January 1984 the Politburo will consider the information gathered on the implementation of those proposals.

Party organizations and members are obliged to counter the tendencies to curb the role of trade unions and workers self-management bodies and the manifestations of anarchic syndicalism, the essence of which is to pit the interests of groups against national interests and the working people's self-governing organizations against the socialist state. It is necessary to combat the harmful manifestations of parochialism, including the efforts to push up prices, which is contrary to the working people's interests, and to develop wages independently of production results.

2. In order to discuss the key problems connected with the development of the activities of the working people's self-governing organizations, with the implementation of the 3-year program for overcoming the crisis, and with the functioning of the mechanisms of the economic reform, the Second National Conference of Workers Aktivs will be convened in the first half of 1984.

3. The struggle to implement the socialist principles of social justice is the basic platform for consolidating party ties with the workers class and the working people. It is the duty of party cells and organizations to:

-- influence the development of the wage system so that it makes incomes more dependent on the true amount of work and its productivity and quality;

-- promote and develop forms of public praise for those whose work is outstanding and whose personal conduct is exemplary;

-- ensure the effective protection of the living standards of the poorest families; one of the activities of the Politburo will be to examine by the end of this year information on the principles of reducing the impact of the increasing costs of living on the social situation of large families, old age pensioners, and receivers of other annuities;

-- carry out the task of ensuring an equal start in adult life for young people and of enabling talented individuals to continue studies and to advance in their jobs.

-- inspire improvements in the principles of housing policy, especially insofar as meeting the needs of the families living in the worst housing conditions is concerned; the Politburo will examine proposals in this regard in the first months of 1984.

4. Improving working conditions and the safety and hygiene of work is an urgent task in defending the interests of workers. In the first quarter of 1984 we will review -- with the extensive participation of trade unions -- the enterprises' activities concerning the workers' working and living conditions and safety and hygiene at work.

Party cells and organizations should ensure that as a result of this review it is possible to:

-- improve the administration of the social and housing funds and the conditions for recreation by workers and their families and protect the less well-off workers;

-- eliminate the shortcomings of the organization of welfare facilities, improve the quality of food in canteens and buffets.

It is also necessary to evaluate the state of health of the workforces and the performance of the industrial health service and to determine the level of and reasons for absenteeism through sickness, the most frequent illness, and the means of prevention. The PZPR Central Committee Commission for the Health of the Population and Communities will ensure that such evaluations are made by the end of 1983 in 208 enterprises in which the PZPR Central Committee is directly interested and will submit the necessary conclusions.

5. Plans for further education and promotion of workers will be developed within the framework of the system for training and improving cadres. Party cells and organizations should help create conditions for promoting outstanding workers, especially young workers. Activities will be intensified to make it possible to increase the attendance of young workers and peasants in secondary schools providing general education and in higher schools.

6. It is the task of the entire party and all its echelons to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and to create conditions under which the Polish intelligentsia's creative potential can be used more extensively to help solve the problems of our social, political, and economic life, technological progress, and scientific and cultural development and to promote the cause of national rebirth. Tightening the allied cooperation with the ZSL and the SD and strengthening the coalition system of government will be the central task of the commission for cooperation between the PZPR and the political parties.

7. The planned legislation on the functioning of the state and the economy will help promote the interests of the workers class and the other groups of the working people and socialist democracy and, above all, strengthen the influence of citizens on decisionmaking and their control over implementation of decisions.

The new election law concerning representative bodies and the principles of social consultations will be a particular expression of this. Efforts to create conditions for increasing the participation of workers and peasants in the local bodies of the state power apparatus and in territorial self-government bodies should be counted among the main lines of the militancy of party cells and organizations in next year's elections.

8. The PZPR Deputies Club and the party teams of the people's councils will ensure that representative bodies engage in militant activities and continue to improve them in order to maintain close ties with the electorate and all communities.

The PZPR Deputies Club will focus its attention on:

-- creating conditions for the complete implementation of the law concerning the people's councils and territorial self-government bodies;

-- strengthening the control activities of the Sejm and its commissions, assisted by the Supreme Control Chamber, in the area of various laws, including the laws on the functioning of the wage and price mechanisms, the rigorous implementation of taxation regulations, and combating all forms of speculation and parasitism;

-- properly developing legislation to regulate the activities of the central bodies and to control the implementation of the previous legislation on the renewal and improvement of the socialist state.

By the end of this year we will develop a homogeneous plan for promoting among our people the knowledge of legislative work so as to consolidate the process of socialist renewal in line with the ninth party congress resolutions.

9. Loyalty to the principles of socialist renewal, that is, to the line of the ninth party congress, requires concentrated struggle against manifestations of a return of the autocratic and arrogant style of management, bossism, clique-mongering, nepotism, red tape, waste, and pooh-poohing the working people's needs and views.

Party cells should pose specific tasks for the party organizations and members active in public services. The just complaints that some of these services function incorrectly, that work organization is bad, and that functionaries are incompetent must move the party organizations operating in these services to issue self-critical appraisals and to draw the necessary conclusions. We will construct a party system for controlling and evaluating the performance of public services. The Politburo will examine proposals in this regard in the first quarter of 1984.

10. Party cells and organizations should set up a national front of struggle against absenteeism, poor use of work time, negligence, waste, and pooh-poohing duties throughout the national economy.

We will intensify the struggle against all types of violations of the law, against making unlawful incomes, against profiteering, bribery, thieving, embezzlement, and abuses in the private sector, services, and trade, especially where they run side by side with the socialized economy.

The effective struggle against these ills, which are expressions of crucial violations of social justice, calls for:

-- consistently implementing the legal norms, increasing the effectiveness of the performance of the bodies of control and investigation, and intensifying preventive measures; the PZPR Central Committee Law and Order Commission will evaluate by the end of 1983 the results of the struggle against manifestations of social ills and will draw up proposals on increasing the effectiveness of actual activities;

-- more extensively committing to this struggle the working people and their organizations, especially trade unions, and intensively mobilizing large sections of the public by various means, including the press, radio, and television.

11. By the end of this year we will develop draft principles for setting up and operating worker-peasant inspectorates, which, on the initiative of the PZPR, will become the starting point for developing the necessary normative legislation.

12. We will improve the performance of the investigating and judicial bodies. In the first half of 1984 the Politburo will examine the comprehensive evaluation of the performance of those bodies a l map out the tasks for party members in order to improve this performance.

13. The special significance of restoring the ties with and expanding the ideological-educational influence of the party among young people makes it necessary to carry out a comprehensive and critical evaluation of the implementation of the ninth plenum resolutions by all party cells and organizations which should in particular:

--evaluate the implementation of the directives issued by the Central Committee Secretariat on the organizational principles of work with the young aktivs in the party and in the socialist union of youth;

-- spell out their tasks vis-a-vis the corresponding echelons of the Socialist Union of Polish Youth, the Rural Youth Union, the Polish Scout Union, and the Polish Student Association and expand the forms of influence vis-a-vis young workers and peasants.

While formulating programs and promoting initiatives that are close to the young people's natural aspirations, courage of innovation, aspirations to modernity, sound criticism, and uncompromising attitude in the struggle against evil, and committing young people to social activities, party cells and organizations should attract individuals of distinction, especially those among young workers and peasants, to the party.

II. Strengthening the Ideological and Organizational Cohesiveness of the Party

1. Reaffirming in activity the ideals and principles of socialism is the supreme task of the process of strengthening the party ideologically.

It is the duty of every PZPR member to act in line with the party's ideology, to defend it against attacks by adversaries, and to help propagate it.

2. The tasks of strengthening the cohesiveness and ideological militancy of the party should occupy the top place in the accountability-election campaign.

The action programs adopted by the accountability-election meetings and conferences should spell out tasks -- which stem from the resolutions passed by the Central Committee plenums -- for primary, plant, gmina, precinct, urban, and voivodship party organizations in overcoming the effects of the crisis, in stabilizing sociopolitical life on the plane of accord of the people's patriotic forces and of the struggle against the adversary, in consistently implementing the principles of social justice, in combating the negative manifestations of public life, and in implementing the economic reform, the 3-year socioeconomic plan, and the austerity, and anti-inflation programs.

An important task of the accountability-election campaign is to map out and assume activities to strengthen the worker character of the party, which should be expressed by the increased presence of workers and peasants among party aktivs and in party cells and by the development of party ranks with a view to strengthening the party's worker backbone.

We should pay special attention to assigning individual tasks to party members and to making consistent evaluations of their attitudes and militancy in discharging their statutory duties, including the implementation of the principle that every party member is an activist in a social organization.

It is necessary to evaluate the way in which the leading state and economic cadres discharge their duties and in which the principles of cadre policy are implemented.

3. The party's efficiency will be tested by the correct course of accountability-election meetings and conferences. We should ensure that the proposals submitted during that campaign are given careful consideration and are implemented.

Party organizations and cells should ask nonparty people to evaluate their work and should inform the communities in which they operate and the ZSL and SD bodies about the course and decisions of the accountability-election meetings and conferences. They should see that adopted programs are suitably publicized. It is necessary to immediately inform state and economic administration, self-government bodies, trade unions, youth organizations, and cells of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] about the tasks stemming from these programs.

After elections it is necessary to train the first secretaries of the primary party organizations, branch party organizations, and basic party cells, as well as chairmen of the local party control and revision commissions.

4. The Politburo, the Central Committee Secretariat, the voivodship committee executive bodies, and basic party cells should make the fullest use in their activities of the evaluations and proposals resulting from the work of the problem commissions. The proposals resulting from evaluations will be submitted to the government by chairmen of the Central Committee commissions and to the appropriate administrative bodies by chairmen of the commissions of local party cells.

5. In November and December we will evaluate the implementation of the programmatic-organizational principles of party training in 1984-85 in party cells and organizations, especially in the 208 largest production enterprises.

By April 1984 we will develop the programmatic-organizational principles for training party aktivs and members in 1984-85. The practice of party training should include suitably programmed radio and television features.

6. The party's ideological militancy, which is closely linked to the problems of the present time, should go hand in hand with an in-depth study of the long-term prospects of Poland's socialist development and of the resulting lines of party activity.

We will continue to develop the draft declaration entitled "Our Struggle, Our Aim." This draft, which will be enriched by the achievements of the 12th and 13th Central Committee Plenums, will be presented to the National Conference of Delegates.

We will also intensify our work to develop the principles of the long-term party program, which will be submitted to the National Conference of Delegates and then subjected to an all-party and all-national discussion.

III. Development of Social and Production Militancy Is a Condition for Strengthening the State and Promoting the Economy

It is our party's aim to win the support of the decisive majority of our people for the ninth party congress program, which has closely linked the task of strengthening the state with the task of expanding the accord of the nation's patriotic forces, of developing the social and production militancy of the working people, and of intensifying socialist democracy. The implementation of this plan calls for further improving administration and for strengthening worker, public, and civic discipline.

In overcoming the crisis, in promoting socialist renewal, and in struggling against political adversaries it is necessary to ensure the cohesion of activity on the planes of ideology, politics, and economics, the problems of which are acquiring increasing improtance insofar as party tasks are concerned.

a) Expanding Social Militancy and Building National Accord

1. Party cells and organizations should seek always to extend the front of social militancy, to sponsor daily activities to overcome the results of the crisis, to create conditions for the country's development, and to strengthen Poland's security. It is necessary to make obvious to all our people that every bit of progress achieved helps create conditions for settling the questions which are important for the future and which are connected with:

-- countering the danger of the enlargement of the technological gap that separates us from the highly industrialized countries;

-- stemming the degradation of the natural environment;

-- solving the problem of the high birthrate.

These questions involve all Poles and that is why it is necessary for the most extensive forces of society to take joint care and to make common efforts to solve them.

2. The idea and practice of PRON serves precisely those aims.

As one of the sponsors and signatories of the PRON declaration, with the help of its members in PRON, the PZPR seeks to:

-- commit more and more citizens to government through participating in consultations, sponsoring decisions and initiatives that are in the public interest, reflecting public opinion, and developing public opinion in the spirit of responsibility for the socialist fatherland;

-- build an extensive platform for PRON's cooperation with the people's councils, self-government bodies, and social organizations and communities;

-- strengthen PRON's activities and develop its structures everywhere, including in production enterprises and with young people;

-- commit PRON to solving local problems, to developing public initiative and pledges, and to defending citizen's rights against the results of the incorrect activities of individual bodies of state and economic administration.

3. Social, social-professional, and regional organizations and associations, as well as the sociocultural movements play a great role in the various forms of civic militancy. Party cells and organizations should support their development, enrich them by various initiatives produced by party members, focus their attention on solving socially important problems in various spheres of life, and publicize in them the party's plans, including the documents of the 13th plenum.

4. The Central Committee declared its support for the continuation of the religious policy based on the constitutional principles of the freedom of conscience and religion and of the separation of church from state. This policy helps create conditions for an untrammeled exercise of religious practices and pastoral activities, as well as for the active participation of all believers and priests in public life. However, the Central Committee regards as inadmissible the manifestations of militant clericalism, religious intolerance, and attempts to abuse religious feelings for activities that are in conflict with the laws and interests of the PPR.

The complete observance of the constitutional principles of the freedom of conscience and religion and of the separation of church from state should be ensured in schools and in the field of training and upbringing. Party cells and organizations and institutions operating in the field of ideology, education, and upbringing should propagate the principles of the state's religious policy. The crux of this policy is to develop correct and constructive relations between the state and the church -- relations that serve the interests of our people and the PPR.

b) Restoring Equilibrium of and Creating Conditions for Economic Development

5. Plant party organizations and local party cells should during the next 2 months evaluate the course and results of implementing the economic reform, paying special attention to the issues of work organization, rational employment, wage systems, the materials economy, and technological progress, and formulate appropriate proposals in this connection. Analyzing the implementation of the austerity and anti-inflation programs in plants and laying down tasks in this regard for 1984-85 is an important task.

Members of the party and government leadership will study and evaluate the implementation of the austerity and anti-inflation programs in selected industrial plants.

Plant party organizations should stimulate the production initiative and rationalization militancy of workers, especially young workers, and ensure that the participation of the

youth movement in resolving the housing problem is supported by assistance from economic administration and the appropriate institutions and organizations.

The Politburo decision on correct employment of this year's school graduates and on extending socioeducational care to them will be subjected to control.

6. The socioeducational functions of production plants will be developed. Plant party organizations should help develop and implement programs for making work more humane and for promoting sociocultural influence. These programs should embrace as many employees as possible, especially workers and young people.

7. Party organizations active in rural areas should cooperate with ZSL circles in periodically evaluating the implementation of the principles of joint farm policy. During the fall-winter period joint rural meetings of primary party organizations and ZSL circles should be organized in order to:

-- discuss initiatives and undertakings aimed at increasing farm production and improving its conditions;

-- sponsor measures by the local authorities of state administration and stimulate social militancy with a view to improving welfare and living conditions in rural areas;

-- activate the performance of rural self-government bodies.

The conference of the PZPR secretaries in gminas will discuss main tasks of party work in rural areas. The conference will be organized by the Central Committee.

8. Party organizations active in the communities of the technical and economic intelligentsia should evaluate the performance of their units, taking into account the quality of products and of developed and implemented technologies, and on the basis of this sponsor measures to promote technological and organizational progress.

9. Party cells and organizations operating in cooperatives should cooperate with the ZSL and the SD in enabling cooperatives to fulfill their economic and socioeducational tasks, to eliminate shortcomings in this regard, and to build a system of joint interparty control over the functioning of the cooperative sector of the economy.

c) Cadre Policy

10. "The Main Principles of the PZPR's Cadre Policy," which was approved by the 13th plenum, are the party cells' directives on cadre policy, the basic features of which are solicitude for the correct selection and rational employment of cadres, objective and open evaluations of cadres, improvements in cadre qualifications, and ensuring that state and economic administration bodies are administered efficiently. These main principles should also serve as the basis for improving cadre policy in the state, including cadre policy in education and higher education.

The instructions on how to implement "The Main Principles of the PZPR's Cadre Policy" with regard to periodic reviews and evaluations, improving the rights and duties of PZPR workers, creating and employing cadre reserve, and devising rules on how party cells should appoint leading cadres will be completed by March 1984.

In mid-1984 the executive bodies of the local party cells and the Central Committee Secretariat will evaluate the implementation of the principles of the cadre policy adopted by the 13th plenum.

11. Periodic evaluations and reviews of cadres will become the foundation of the movement, improvement, and development of cadres and the basis for creating the cadre reserve.

To counter stagnancy, routine, and the creation of "setups" and cliques, party cells and organizations should sponsor a planned and objectively justified movement of cadres in the party, administrative, and economic apparatus.

IV. Struggle Against Threats to Socialism and Peace

1. The party has victoriously passed its great political test. Overcoming the errors of the period before August 1980, it has warded off the attacks by the antisocialist forces. The adversary has been weakened and pushed to defensive positions. However, supported by the aggressive forces of imperialism, he has not laid down his arms. He is trying out new methods of struggle aimed at preserving the oppositionist potential, at discrediting the party, the system, and the state authority, and at consolidating and intensifying the political divisions in our society.

The arms race, which is being promoted by imperialism, continues to be a growing threat to world peace. The imperialist policy of armaments and confrontation is directed against the maintenance in Europe of the political order created in Yalta and Potsdam.

This makes it necessary for the party and its cells, organizations, and members to wage a stubborn day-to-day struggle for the mobilization of all the patriotic forces of our people to defend peace, national security, and stabilization of sociopolitical life and to overcome the results of the economic crisis.

2. Party cells and organizations, the ideological front units, and mass information and propaganda media should:

-- lay bare the nature of the aggressive policy of imperialism and the plans of the Washington administration and unmask the anti-Polish character of economic restrictions, political blackmail, and propaganda aggression directed against our country;

-- expose the historical genealogy, ideological and class sources, and image of the antisocialist opposition in Poland, its links with the antisocialist centers in the United States and other NATO states, and its growing dependence on the adventurous imperialist circles;

-- resolutely oppose the resuscitation and propagation of the reactionary views and doctrines that have been destroyed by history, including the idea of Poland as a "wall against barbarism," the megalomania of Poland's paramount importance, and nihilism, and unmask the subversive content of the slogans propagated by the "self-governing republic" -- slogans aimed at rendering helpless and destroying the socialist state;

-- propagate the fact that our political adversaries possess no positive program and that their slogans promote negation, refusal, and boycott, that they believe in erecting psychological barriers to hinder national accord, the implementation of socialist reforms, and overcoming of economic difficulties, and that they continue to act in line with the principle that "the worse the situation, the better things are;"

-- encourage resolute protest against threats to peace, unite the most extensive sections of the Polish people against these threats, publicize the peace policy of the socialist community, and stimulate the feelings of solidarity with whoever in the world continues to fight against a new wave of armaments;

-- consistently inform the people about the achievements and experience of the socialist countries, about the daily lives and problems of the fraternal peoples, about the advantages of economic cooperation with CEMA, and about the help and support given to Poland by the USSR and other socialist countries to enable it to overcome its difficulties.

It is necessary to speed up the first or subsequent publication of the works of the authors who unmask the nature and results of the various lines of bourgeois political thought in Poland.

3. The struggle for the political isolation of the antisocialist opposition must go hand in hand, every day, with the perservering, patient, and tactful efforts of all party echelons to win over those who vacillate and are beset by doubts and to build bridges so that all those who have lost their political bearings and have succumbed to emotion, bitterness, or the extensive, aggressive propaganda of the political adversary can cross over to socialism.

4. Training party aktivs and members for a long ideological struggle requires constant efforts to analyze and evaluate the class nature of the aims and mechanisms of the struggle waged by the opponents of socialism against Poland, socialism, and peace. Within the framework of party training, primary party organizations should hold and complete by the end of the first quarter of 1984 ideological meetings on the subject of "The Genealogy, Sources, and Role of the Anticommunist Crusade in the Strategy and Tactics of American Imperialism."

V. Tasks of the Ideological Front in Developing Socialist Social Awareness

Strengthening the party's ties with the working people, expanding national accord, restoring economic balance, and continuing the reform of the state and the economy calls for consistent and ever improving educational work in order to develop socialist political, economic, historical, and legal awareness and in order to wage a standing struggle to ensure that Marxism-Leninism plays the leading role in the country's intellectual life.

a) Programming the Party's Ideological Activities -- Tasks of Social Sciences

1. By the end of 1983 we will develop the draft program for economic education, and this will be followed one by one by draft programs for historical and legal education. These drafts will be examined by the Central Committee Ideological Commission and by the Politburo.

2. Work will be completed on the organizational concept and structure of the Social Sciences Academy, which will be set up at the beginning of 1984.

3. In the first quarter of 1984 the Central Committee Secretariat will adopt objective and organizational principles for the Second National PZPR Ideological-Theoretical Conference.

4. On the basis of an analysis of current work, socially justified priorities for government programs and for key problems will be established in the sphere of the social sciences.

A program to ensure links between scientific research and the most important ideological tasks and the needs of the country's political, economic, and cultural development will be developed by June 1984.

A national conference of representatives of social and humanist sciences should be organized in the first quarter of 1984 in order to appraise the state of these sciences and the plans for their development.

5. Party organizations and cells will take advantage of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland to promote long-term extensive political and educational activities.

During preparations for these activities it is necessary to:

-- develop -- side by side with the central program -- voivodship programs that include, inter alia, scientific initiatives, cultural undertakings, propaganda actions, and initiatives to implement socially useful projects;

-- propose that social committees for celebrating the 40th anniversary of People's Poland be set up nationwide;

-- publish the necessary auxiliary materials and hold meetings in primary party organizations on the subject of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland in order to train party aktivs and members for political work during anniversary celebrations.

The celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland will be an occasion to express appreciation for the veterans of struggle and work and for all people who do honest work. Every community of labor and of social activities should single out people who distinguish themselves by their production militancy, social attitudes, and exemplary personal conduct. Party organizations and cells should create around such people an atmosphere of respect and social appreciation and ensure for them moral satisfaction and the necessary influence on the community's sociopolitical life.

6. Work will be accelerated to create a synthesis of the history of the Polish workers movement and the history of the PZPR. We will develop and implement the publication plan concerning the works of non-Marxist authors who have belonged to the social leftwing, who have presented the political thought of People's Poland in their works, and who have propagated historical values favorable to the prospects of People's Poland.

b) Tasks of Education and Culture

7. We will work out a long-term concept for developing a system of national education and culture which will be presented at one of the Central Committee sessions. The materials developed by the working teams and discussed by the sessions of the Central Committee Education and Science Commission and Culture Commission will be the subject of extensive consultations with cultural, scientific, and higher school communities.

8. The appropriate Central Committee commissions and departments will organize a nationwide movement for raising the standards of the Polish language with extensive help from the artistic, scientific, and journalistic communities.

9. It is necessary to raise the level of Marxist artistic criticism and cultural publications, ensuring that all important artistic facts and events are evaluated on the basis of Marxist criteria. This is an important task for party members active in artistic communities. It is also necessary to operate a system of evaluating cultural periodicals -- their contents and social impact. In April 1984 we will organize a conference to evaluate the state of research in the field of Marxist theory, culture, and aesthetics.

10. By the end of March 1984, on the basis of the evaluation of the participation of the workers class, the rural population, and young people in culture, we will develop a plan for specific undertakings in culture. We will develop a program for aesthetic upbringing in primary schools. The task of party cells and organizations is to create conditions favorable to the propagation of the humanist values of culture, the development of the social-cultural movement, and the cultivation of the values of people's culture.

c) Tasks of Mass Media

11. The task of the party's mass media is to popularize the party program, to attract the most extensive sections of society to the implementation of this program, and to struggle against antisocialist propaganda.

12. The basic stream of the publicist and information activity of the press, radio, and television should be determined by the workers class and its role in socialist construction, as well as by the problems and aspirations of the working people. It is the duty of the newspaper boards and journalists to strengthen the position, prestige, and dignity of workers, to present their views on all important matters, to stress the connection between the party program and the interests of the workers class, and to show how party organizations do their work in solving the working people's problems.

13. The struggle for the attention of young people is a primary task of the press, radio, and television. It is necessary to bring closer to the public the young activists of the PZPR, the allied parties, the PRON, trade unions, people's councils, and self-government bodies, as well as the young directors, managers, inventors, rationalizers, and creative people interested in the idea of socialism.

14. Mass media should help strengthen the position and role of scientific socialism in the intellectual life of the country and in fostering social awareness. The press should promote lively exchanges of ideas and inspire efforts to tackle the modern problems of the country and the world from positions of Marxism. This is especially a task for party journalists.

15. The press, radio, and television should help overcome neglected areas in historical education. One way of doing this is to set up a new popular historical periodical in 1984. Much more attention should be paid to economic and legal education.

Developing an awareness of the developmental conditions of the country and the people, the mass media should make the appropriate use of the basic theses contained in the report drawn up by the Central Committee commission set up to explain the reasons for and the course of the conflicts in the history of People's Poland. The publication of this report is proof that the party is making consistent efforts to learn all lessons from an analysis of the past.

It is the duty of the party press to extend consistent assistance to efforts to stimulate party training and the self-education system. It is necessary to ensure that more party aktivs and members read the party press -- NOWE DROGI, TRYBUNA LUDU, and other publications.

16. It is necessary to stimulate the polemical stream in the press. Publications carrying political and ideological controversies should be argued within an objective and well-grounded manner.

At the same time, it is necessary to see that publications are rich in subjects and variety. It is necessary to improve the language of publications and to eliminate from them obnoxious preaching, simplifications, cliches, and deadly boredom.

17. The party is in favor of increasing the role of press criticism. Party cells and organizations should create conditions for the development of press criticism, expand the sources of information for journalists, and ensure that the views of the public are presented in the press on a wider scale. It is necessary to make press criticism one of the most important instruments of the struggle against evil and for purging life of sociomoral distortions.

18. The system of raising the standards of the political and professional qualifications of journalist cadres will be expanded and improved. Periodic evaluations of journalists and periodicals will be carried out consistently, above all in line with the principles and deadlines developed and approved by the Central Committee Secretariat.

d) Improving Effectiveness of Propaganda Work

19. The range of public opinion polls will be expanded and an information system concerning the results of public polls will be developed. Public poll results should be utilized more extensively in the process of decisionmaking and in determining the lines of propaganda work.

20. By the end of March 1984 a plan for training and improving the qualifications of ideological front cadres will be developed. The plan will embrace training at the Social Science Academy and in the political science departments in higher schools. It will also embrace the necessary further training courses for cadres, advisory assistance, and the propagation of practical knowledge.

21. In the first quarter of 1984 it is necessary to prepare a national conference of propaganda aktivs to discuss the content and forms of ideological-educational work in production plants.

22. By the end of December 1984 the evaluation will be completed of the subject range, objective standards, and language effectiveness of the nonperiodical publications of the Central Committee.

23. To improve the organizational and material conditions of the ideological-propaganda work performed by party cells and organizations, by the end of February 1984 the status and programmatic-organizational principles of the regional, urban, urban-gmina, and gmina centers of ideological-propaganda work (training and information) will be developed.

24. Exchanges of practical knowledge with the fraternal parties in the socialist countries play an important role in the process of improving the methods of party activity. We will develop a system by which we will transfer the experience of the socialist countries to our country. We will also improve the system by which it is possible to identify and implement solutions that are effectively employed in other countries. The plans for interparty cooperation in 1984-85 will be developed and coordinated by the end of 1983.

1984 TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH HUNGARY

LD252317 Budapest MTI in English 1735 GMT 25 Nov 83

[Text] Warsaw November 25 (MTI) -- On behalf of the government of the two countries, Hungarian Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Janos Vas and his Polish counterpart, Wladyslaw Gwiazda, signed a protocol on bilateral trade for 1984, in Warsaw Friday.

The value of exchange deliveries is 20 percent higher than this year and over 900 million roubles.

Imports are mainly black coal, coke, sulphur, salt, labour-saving devices, sound and video systems, consumer goods, mining machinery, equipment for the construction, food and sugar industry, computer engineering goods and lorries.

Exchange deliveries, based on specialization and cooperation in production, are going ahead as planned in car production, especially Fiat 126 P, and synthetic fibres, medicine and rubber.

Important imports for Poland are aluminium earth, aluminium ingots, medicine, light industry consumer goods, slaughtered poultry, Ikarus buses, medical instruments and equipment, telecommunications equipment, low-voltage goods, minor farm machinery, electrical, electronic and nuclear instruments.

After signing the document Janos Vas expressed satisfaction with the plan as it foresees a development as dynamic, or perhaps more so, than previous years. He said it is planned to sign contracts that exceed targets.

REPORTAGE, SPEECHES DURING VISIT OF CSSR'S HUSAK

Delegation Visits Factory

LD011359 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 1 Dec 83

[Text] Today is the 2d day of the official visit in Poland by the party-state delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. This morning, the delegation went to Ursus. Over to our reporter:

[Unidentified reporter] Ninety-year-old Ursus factory is decorated with Czechoslovak and Polish flags. For almost 2 hours, this factory is to be the host to President Gustav Husak, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee; CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal; and other members of the delegation, which has been in our country since yesterday.

They are accompanied by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the party and premier; Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski; representatives of the Warsaw authorities; and factory management.

The guests visited the assembly line of Ursus C-350 tractors. They stopped several times to talk to workers on everyday life of the factory, work, and family life. A lot of smiles, warm words, and frankness dominated those short meetings.

The guests then acquainted themselves with types of tractors that are being produced, and with those planned for production, including joint Polish-Czechoslovak 165-horsepower tractors. As the director of the factory said, this construction can easily compete with products of such firms as Harvester or Fergueson.

At 1100 in the hall of the factory's house of culture, a meeting has begun between Gustav Husak, Lubomir Strougal, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Henryk Jablonski, and other guests and the workforce of Ursus mechanical plant.

Jablonski Speech at Factory

LD011917 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1705 GMT 1 Dec 83

[Speech by Polish State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski at Ursus House of Culture meeting attended by visiting CSSR party and state delegation headed by Gustav Husak and Lubomir Strougal on 1 December -- recorded]

[Text] Ursus, which is 90 years old, today has the honor of hosting the party and state delegation from fraternal Czechoslovakia. Every industrial plant in Poland would view such a visit as one bestowing a particularly high distinction. The visit to Ursus, which as has already been said, has a long tradition of mutually beneficial cooperation with Czechoslovak industry, does not just constitute a demonstration of friendship but is at the same time a confirmation by the leaders of both parties and both governments of the great importance they attach to the close cooperation between our countries in the economic sphere. I would like to draw attention to another characteristic feature of this meeting. The Ursus production is peaceful in nature. It serves first and foremost to enhance the efficiency of agriculture. Its aim is to increase the goods that satisfy the population's need for food. Today this is an important task. The number of citizens in our country is growing rapidly. Because of urban and industrial development, the amount of cultivated land is dropping. Thus we must work the land in an ever improving, ever more productive fashion.

Yet our economic problems are not merely in agriculture. The self-same concern for an increasingly efficient functioning of the whole of our economy is reflected in the concentrated efforts of the supreme political and administrative authorities and in the activities of the party and the allied parties. We are mobilizing the social forces of our country to an ever increasing degree. But in order to realize our intentions and create conditions for development that will match the expectations of the nation and not just make us emerge from the crisis, we must have calm at home and peace in the world around us Only in such conditions can we organize our life and work in the right manner. Only then can they yield the proper fruit. This is obvious to everyone who thinks seriously about the fate of his country the fate of his nearest and dearest, and of his own future.

But, after all, these extemporaneous reasons stemming from our own situation are not the only ones that require that we pursue a policy of peace and seek detente and a halt to the arms race and the development of the broadest possible international cooperation. There are underlying reasons even more important than our own interests, the interests of a country that must have a guaranteed opportunity for undisturbed work if it is to extricate itself from its difficulties. Our international policy stems from the fundamental principles of our ideology, the socialist nature of our state. We have invariably propagated these very principles since the time we regained independence. Hence such Polish initiatives as the Rapacki plan or the Gomulka plan aimed at the consolidation of peace, a gradual reduction of armaments, and the creation of conditions for the harmonious coexistence of states and nations. We have wanted and want to save mankind from a war which must mean, in an age of nuclear arms, a terrible catastrophe of simply unbelievable dimensions. Such a stand, stemming from the fundamental principles of socialism, has characterized the Soviet Union since the moment of its creation.

All the countries of our community are guided by the same ideology, seeing the consolidation of peace as the most important task of our time. Together, in the same manner, we believe in the possibility of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. We have the same views on the need for the law to be respected concerning the sovereign existence of each nation. We hold the identical view that the arms race is disastrous since the enormous financial resources spent on this purpose could be used for the good of man, for improving his living conditions, for health protection and for developing culture. Future generations will read with most profound respect in the pages of history about the socialist states' constantly recurring peace initiatives and will admire the persistence with which they struggled against all the dangers threatening mankind. They will treat with contempt all imperialist forces that want to impose their will on others by force, to intensify conflicts and to launch the arms race.

In this aggressive policy, which is hostile to the interests of all nations, the U.S. Government plays a leading role directed by President Ronald Reagan. The United States sets aside enormous resources for the so-called re-arming of America. To put it simply, this means the production of new, increasingly powerful weapons, and for their stationing in the world's tension spots in order to augment their aggressive effectiveness. And all this is done under the slogan of defense against an ostensible threat from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It is hard not to recognize the cynicism and mendacity of this argument when one recalls that it is in fact the Warsaw pact states that issue plans aimed at a radical reduction in nuclear arms. These states have proposed a halt in the production of these arms, and then a staged elimination of the stocks of these weapon.

These were not just generalized notions but quite specifically formulated points for a possible agreement. Thus for instance, the Soviet Union expressed its willingness to freeze, on a mutual basis, all its nuclear arms, both quantitatively and qualitatively, in other words, to cease to add to the arsenals of these weapons, to refrain from deploying their new types and models, to refrain from all nuclear missile tests and from experiments with all new kinds of carriers of these missiles.

The Soviet Union did not rest content with these and many other proposals aimed at halting the arms race. Of its own initiative the Soviet Union gave eloquent proof of its own good will by unilaterally undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear arms. It also called on the other powers to follow its example.

Unfortunately, the United States and the other NATO states do not wish to do so. Thus to anyone with even the slightest awareness of international politics it is surely clear who has to defend himself against whom and who is threatening whom. Does the threat come from the party that desires disarmament and undertakes not to be the first to use nuclear arms, or does it come from that which does not wish to make such an undertaking, which thus admits that it is prepared to initiate a nuclear war and which at the same time installs new missile launching sites on the soil of its allies with the aim of achieving a decisive advantage? Parallel to this, the United States and the other NATO states have unleashed a large-scale propaganda campaign against the socialist countries aimed at weakening them internally to the largest possible degree. How right Comrade President Husak was when he spoke of this! They see any device, any provocation as good if it furthers the cause of presenting lies as the truth, of terming the truth a lie, of arousing suspicion and uncertainty among people, of disorienting them and of driving wedges between the nations of the socialist countries, and of undermining their social systems. We know this well from our own experience.

Therefore, who is an aggressor? We, who declare willingness to cooperate with all nations, or those who interfere with our internal affairs and endeavor to impose their will? The answer to this question needs no more evidence, but anyone who assumes that the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states will look passively on this is deluding himself. They have frequently warned that they will not permit the disruption of the balance of forces and that appropriate preventive measures will be undertaken.

It is obvious that in order to maintain peace and our independence it is indispensable to maintain the balance of military forces, therefore appropriate countermeasures have been taken in response to the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe. This is extremely important and vital, but at the same time we must combine the efforts of all peaceful forces in the world and above all consolidate the unity and ideological, political, and economic cohesion of our entire socialist community. We have always appreciated the great importance of universal cooperation with our fraternal countries, which aids the development of our creative forces, consolidates independence from the shaky world economic situation and increases our sense of security.

We have discovered only too well the true meaning for us of the real friendship of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries at the time of our crisis. Their help and support were of priceless value, even more important and irreplaceable at a time of serious threats in the international arena.

We have made great achievements in various fields of close and constantly developing cooperation. The unity of ideology by which we are guided facilitates cooperation in the sphere of culture, and economic cooperation serves the mutual consolidation of the strength of our states. This was mentioned in widely publicized interviews given by President Husak and Comrade General Jaruzelski. Both indicated at the same time further prospects in this field. It should be particularly emphasized, following the statement by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee that we would like to give a long-term dimension to our cooperative links with Czechoslovakia regarding this as a very important link in the process of reorienting the Polish economy toward CEMA and individual socialist countries.

This explains the great importance of the party and state delegation visit to Poland, headed by our tried and reliable friend Comrade Husak. This will undoubtedly bring considerable results of the benefit of people of Czechoslovakia and Poland, for the consolidation of the forces of peace in Europe and in the world. From the bottom of our hearts we wish our dear Czechoslovak comrades great successes, bringing about a strengthening of our entire community and the entire camp of socialism and peace.

Husak Speech at Factory

LD011941 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1705 GMT 1 Dec 83

[Speech by CSSR President Gustav Husak on 1 December at Ursus factory during official visit to Poland -- recorded in Czech fading into superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] Comrades, dear Polish friends: Allow me first of all to convey to you, and through you to all Ursus workers, warm greetings from our delegation, the Communists and the National Front, from all Czechoslovak working people. We congratulate you from the bottom of our heart on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the founding of your factory and the production of the 1 millionth tractor recently rolled off the conveyor belt, a symbol of the industrial progress of people's Poland.

We rejoice at being able to visit your factory and we thank you cordially for your reception. For a number of years Ursus has been successfully cooperating with the Czechoslovak tractory industry. This cooperation assists both sides in better exploitation of production and technological opportunities and in raising and rationalizing output. It provides a good example which deserves to be followed in a large scale.

Comrades, we came to the PPR at the invitation of the supreme authorities of the PZPR and of the Polish state to exchange information on the progress of socialist building in our countries and to exchange experiences on how to cooperate still better, how to act in today's complex international situation, in the joint struggle for peace.

I can say with great satisfaction that our deliberations are proceeding in a truly open atmosphere filled with accord and mutual trust. We are delighted that our cooperation in the political, economic, and other domains is expanding. We want this cooperation and will deepen it further to the advantage of both sides.

The proximity of our countries, similarity of the economy, concordant goals which we set ourselves -- all this opens up a road for us to take further steps to bring the CSSR and the PPR closer to each other.

We know from practice and our own experience that it is beyond the means of individual states to keep up with the pace of contemporary scientific and technological progress. If we want to keep in step with the world, it is necessary more than ever to unite forces, to apply on a broader scale specialization and cooperation and other effective forms of economic integration in the interest of a more speedy progress. Our mutual cooperation and cooperation within the framework of CEMA at the same time constitutes the best answer to the policy of discrimination pursued by imperialism, the best path toward the consolidation of economic independence from the capitalist world.

Comrades, the current times make it necessary to pay greater attention to the development of the international situation which has become much more complicated due to American imperialism. In spite of the great effort of the USSR and the socialist countries toward finding a constructive solution to East-West relations

on a basis acceptable to both sides, on the principle of equal security for both sides, the United States escalates its aggressive policy. The danger of nuclear conflict is increased in particular by the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

The struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence and for international cooperation and disarmament remains the common basic line of foreign policy of socialist countries. We however cannot permit U.S. imperialism to change the current strategic balance of forces in the world to its advantage, to push through its superiority, and to dictate its will and its ways to other countries. Therefore, the USSR and the Warsaw Pact States are forces, in the interest of peace and security, to adopt relevant countermeasures, announced in the statement of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Yuriy Andropov, on 24 November and in which the CSSR is also taking an active part.

Maintenance of peace is today rightly the greatest concern of people in the whole world. Millions of simple people in all countries ask themselves what to do to ensure the prospects of a peaceful life for their children and families. The answer is simple: The stronger and firmer the forces that are an obstacle in the plans of imperialism, the greater the guarantee that they will really defend peace. That is why we put such emphasis on strengthening our unity, cohesiveness, the economic and defense ability of the socialist community, in which People's Poland has a firm and significant place. Therefore, we fully support the peace foreign policy of the USSR, our common ally and friend, the main guarantee of peace.

Imperialism has brought about a number of international crises in the postwar years, but none as serious as the present one. At the same time, however, a wave of opposition to the threat of war among the masses as decisive as that today, irrespective of political and religious convictions, has never before arisen. This strengthens our conviction that it will be possible to foil the intentions of imperialism and to defend peace.

Comrades, the Czechoslovak people, too, devote great attention to the further development of the national economy, to maintaining the standard of living attained, to consolidating the socialist system, and to strengthening the defense of the state, despite the more difficult conditions of today. Contemporary times are more complicated and the tasks more demanding. The overwhelming majority of our nation understands this well and makes concerted efforts to implement the policy of the Communist Party and the National Front, which guarantees further positive development and peaceful life for our country.

We are watching with sincere understanding and support the efforts of PZPR and the patriotic forces of the PPR united in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth for the successful continuation of the process of consolidation. We evaluate highly the resolute actions of the leadership of the PZPR and the Polish state, led by our friend Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski. We highly value the efforts and work of thousands of PZPR members and activists, of honest Polish patriots, who despite obstacles and difficulties are steadfastly striving in the interests of strengthening the people's power and the socialist development of Poland. We give them the assurance of our full support.

Dear comrades, allow me in conclusion to pay homage to the famous traditions of the Polish working class and communist movement. The Polish proletariat's memorable actions and the Polish revolutionaries' struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to establish people's power belong to the renowned history of the whole international workers' movement. We know from our own experience that the birth and construction of a new political system is accompanied by a great deal of struggle and difficulties. In this march it is essential to overcome the difficult inheritance

of the past and the resistance of the defeated classes and reactionary forces, and to find methods to solve the tasks that the former exploiting systems were even unable to consider: how to provide work, education, health care, and a good standard of living for the masses. We all also know what strength and moral energy is given to the working class by the awareness that it is working not for the exploiters but for itself, that it is building a just and most humanitarian social system in which the interests of the working man are supreme. The truth of history is on the side of the working class and its revolutionary party, the (?right) to progress and the desire of millions to live in peace. Provocations and plotting by enemies and the resistance of the forces of the past can temporarily delay progress but they cannot halt it permanently or reverse it. We can, therefore, look to the future with optimism and continue further struggle with full confidence that victory will be ours.

On behalf of the Czechoslovak Communists and the National Front, and our own people, I would like to wish you and your coworkers in Ursus, in Warsaw, and the whole of Poland new achievements in the struggle for socialism in Poland and in work for the happy future of the Polish nation. We are deeply convinced that the cooperation between our fraternal paties, nations, and states will continue to strengthen and that Czechoslovak-Polish friendship will continue to flourish. Long live the PZPR and the Polish nation; long live the friendship and unity of socialist community states, long life and victory to socialism and peace in the world.

Husak Speech at Award Ceremony

AU021336 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Dec 83 p 2

[Speech by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, at an award ceremony in Warsaw on 30 November after being awarded the Grand Ribbon of the Order of Merit of the PPR on the occasion of his 70th birthday]

[Text] Dear Comrade Jablonski, dear Comrade Jaruzelski, esteemed comrades and friends:

I sincerely thank the PZPR Central Committee and the PPR State Council for the great honor accorded to me by the award of the Great Ribbon of the Order of Merit of the PPR.

I accept this high distinction and your kind appreciation of my work primarily as a recognition of the CPCZ's struggle for the victory of socialism in our country, as well as an expression of the acknowledgement of its contribution to developing and strengthening the ties of alliance and cooperation between our two parties and states. I acknowledge this award as a symbol of the fact that in building socialism we are able to rely on each other's fraternal cooperation and that we have in socialist Poland not only a good neighbor but also a reliable friend and ally.

The historical roots of Czechoslovak-Polish friendship have grown from the common or similar fates that our nations have shared for centuries, from the progressive traditions of our history, and from our struggles against fascism, for national liberation, and for the victory of people's power.

Our cooperation played a big role in the postwar years, in the period of socialist construction. It passed the test of all the trials our countries and relations had undergone during that period. In particular, since last year's visit of Comrade Jaruzelski to Prague we have recorded an upward trend in our cooperation and we are convinced that it has good prospects for further development.

We follow with warm sympathies the efforts of the PZPR and all patriotic forces of People's Poland to effect political and economic consolidation and derive sincere joy from your every success. I would like to assure you that we will continue to strive to further strengthen the fraternal bonds between our parties and countries to the benefit of our nations and the socialist community as a whole.

Dear comrades, allow me to make use of this meeting to fulfill a pleasant duty, to present the Order of Klement Gottwald, the highest Czechoslovak state distinction, to Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR.

Dear Comrade Jaruzelski, this distinction has been awarded to you on the occasion of your 60th birthday for the exceptional services rendered by you to deepening friendship and fraternal cooperation between the CPCZ and the PZPR and between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and Poland. It documents the esteem held for you, an outstanding party and state figure of the PPR by the Czechoslovak people.

You have dedicated your entire life to the struggle for freedom and justice for the Polish people. You stood in the front ranks of the struggle against fascism, for the victory of people's power and the building of socialism in Poland, and for your country's friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union. Owing to your adherence to principles, resoluteness, and courage at the head of party and state bodies, you demonstrated in the difficult hours of Poland your loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism statesmanlike wisdom, and responsibility for the fate of your country. Linked inseparably with your work are the positive results being achieved today by the working people of your country under the PZPR's leadership.

You rightly enjoy a high degree of authority, not only in your homeland but also in Czechoslovakia and in the international communist and workers movement.

I sincerely congratulate you on the presentation of this award and wish you from the bottom of my heart good health, personal contentment, and many new successes in your further responsible work for the well-being of the Polish people.

LEADER CONGRATULATES SFRY ON NATIONAL DAY

LD290004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski have sent congratulatory telegrams to Yugoslav leaders on Yugoslavia's National Day and the 40th anniversary of the historic second session of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia, which are celebrated today. The telegrams expressed the deep conviction that friendly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between Poland and Yugoslavia will continue to strengthen and develop in the interest of both nations and to the benefit of international security and peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

STATE COUNCIL MESSAGE CONGRATULATES ALBANIA

LD282349 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of Albania, the State Council has sent a congratulations telegram to the Presidium of the Albanian General Assembly.

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES UNIFICATION MEETING

AU051611 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Dec 83 pp 1, 2, 3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at 1 December Bucharest festive meeting marking the 65th anniversary of Romania's unification]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the great national anniversary of our people -- the unification of Transylvania and Romania -- and the establishment of the Romanian united national state, on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council, and the government, and on my own behalf I want to convey ardent revolutionary greetings to all our people. (applause, cheers)

The establishment of the national united state 65 years ago was a brilliant historic victory in the lengthy, heroic struggle of the masses to forge the Romanian nation; it marked the fulfillment of the centuries-long dream of all Romanians to live united within the borders of one country, a united, free, and independent state. (applause)

On the anniversary of that great event we turn our thoughts with profound gratitude to our great forefathers, to all those who, in their love for the fatherland and people, struggled and sacrificed their lives for the great ideal of unification, for unity, freedom, and dignity of our beloved fatherland. (applause) At this solemn moment we pay homage to the patriots, revolutionaries, and all progressive forces who passionately fought for the idea of national unity, and to all Romanian people, whose will and actions helped fulfill the eternal aspiration of the Romanians. (applause)

At this uplifting moment we must recall, at least in a few words, the glorious history of our people, the epos of their permanency in their millenary ancestral homeland, the heroic struggles waged through centuries against foreign opporessors and for preserving their own entity and establishing a Romanian nation, for freedom and social and national justice. The unification was the natural and inevitable result of the long historical development of the Romanian people and of their struggle to secure their right to be free and masters of their own country. From the most ancient times the ideals of unity, freedom, and independence were a permanent source of inspiration for the Romanian people. They were the beacon that lit the way for generation after generation toward freedom, progress, and a better, free, and dignified life.

Out millenary history is marked by many battles and sacrifices, by immeasurable sacrifices devoted to preserving the national entity and defending the people's fundamental right. (applause) The Carpathians, with their proud centuries-old forests and with their ancient rivers were the cradle where our people were raised and where they developed from time immemorial. The Carpathians did not divide them, but always united the inhabitants of the plains in the east and west, north and south. It was in the Carpathians that the character of the Romanian people was shaped: their steadfastedness, bravery, kindness, pride, and fearlessness in battle. (applause) After times of cruel trials, when migratory tribes crisscrossed the land, the Romanians, intent on restoring their national unity, established the first state entities, which then developed and were consolidated and were thus capable of resisting foreign aggression and invasion attempts.

The feudal Romanian states, led by great rulers and army commanders such as Mircea the Old, Stefan the Great, Ion Voda the Terrible, Vlad the Impaler, and many others, heroically resisted the foreign invaders, especially the Ottoman Empire, and marked pages of eternal glory in the chronicle of our country's freedom and independence. (applause)

The Romanian people's ideal was forcefully reflected in the unification of Romania, Transylvania, and Moldavia in 1600 under the great vojvod Mihai the Brave. As Nicolae Balcescu said, "Mihai accomplished the dearest dream of the great vojvods of the Romanians. Romanian has now joined Romanian, and they all have the same homeland, the same national leadership, as it used to be in the longforgotten past." (applause)

Historical circumstances, primarily interventions by foreign powers, caused the breakup of the united, centralized state forged by Mihai the Brave. However, the idea of unity among the Romanian states and the ideal of a united and strong state on the land of old Dacia remained forever alive in the consciousness of the people; it fired its will to struggle and constituted the moving force behind their struggle for social and national justice, for progress and civilization. (applause)

The cause of unity was closely linked with revolutionary actions, with all the social struggles of the masses. The 1784 revolution in Transylvania led by Horia, Closca, and Crisan, and the 1821 revolution in Wallachia led by Tudor Vladimirescu clearly showed both the great revolutionary resources of the popular masses, and the ardent desire for unity of the three Romanian provinces. Like the heroes of legend, throughout their millenary history the Romanian people always found within themselves the strength to be reborn, even after the heavy defeats. They always renewed their struggle with even greater forcefulness. The victories achieved also increased their enthusiasm for unity and stimulated them to steadfastedly continue their efforts and struggle to fulfill their vital aspirations. (applause)

Symbolically expressing this reality, Karl Marx, writing about Horia's rebellion, said that it had become "the symbol of Dacia's rebirth." (applause) A point of particular importance in the growing [illegible]wareness of the Romanian people and in the struggle for national and social free[illegible]nich forcefully asserted the desire for unity and independence of the Romanians in all three Romanian provinces, was marked by the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848. In all three Romanian principalities, the main objective of the revolution was to remove the old, feudal system, to eliminate all foreign oppression and domination, to promote the people's socioeconomic development along the path of progress, and to forge a united, modern, and free Romania. (applause)

The great ideals of the 1848 revolution, for which the broad masses of Romanian struggled, were fulfilled on 24 January 1859 when, as Mihail Kogalniceanu put it, through "the great act of will of the Romanian nation," Moldavia was united with Wallachia, and the modern national Romanian state was born. (applause) Through energetic actions, the masses foiled both the maneuvers of certain internal reactionary circles, and the intentions of certain European powers which saw their expansionist plans in this part of the continent hindered by the establishment of the Romanian national state. The unification of the principalities had an enormous significance for the social-political development of our people. It opened up new prospects for the development of production forces and permitted Romania to embark upon the road to modern civilization, thus marking an epoch-making moment in the birth of the Romanian united national state. (applause)

A new and superior stage in the process of development of Romanian society was marked by the achievement of national independence in 1877 through the heroic armed struggle of the people against the Ottoman Empire. State independence opened up a new era for Romania and for the assertion of the Romanian nation along the path of material and spiritual progress and civilization, as well as for its participation in the international community of free nations. (applause)

The participation of Romanians from Transylvania in the ranks of the Romanian army in the independence war [of 1877] was very significant for the awareness of the people's unity. At that time, the situation of the Romanian population in Transylvania had worsened considerably. The creation of the Austrian-Hungarian dualism within the framework of the Habsburg Empire, the incorporation of Transylvania into Hungary, and the liquidation of the status of autonomous principality -- that it had enjoyed for hundreds of years -- had serious consequences for the Romanians. Instead of fulfilling the promises made during the bourgeois-democratic revolution [of 1848] to grant broader rights to the Romanians, a process of forced assimilation took place in Transylvania obviously aimed -- although without any hope of success -- at changing historical realities, denationalizing the Romanians, and changing the population's structure and character. One can state that through this policy of restricting and even completely liquidating the rights of Romanians -- something which was also criticized by progressive Hungarian circles and figures -- that period went down as the darkest in the history of the Romanian people in Transylvania.

The existence of the national Romanian state and the winning of its independence had a great impact upon Romanians under the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. This led to intensifying the struggle against foreign domination and for the creation of the united Romanian national state. During great mass actions and meetings as well as in the press of the time, one increasingly heard the call for Transylvania's union with the motherland. The Romanians' meeting in Sibiu, in May 1891, created the Romanian National Party through the union of the two Romanian parties in Banat and Transylvania and adopted a program of struggle against the domination of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire.

The action of the memorandists, which failed, and other attempts of certain politicians to bring up the question of the Romanian people's national rights at the Vienna Court or in the Budapest Diet, and the dismissal of the broad protests of public opinion stripped the Romanians of all illusions that they could fulfill their vital ideals through the oppressors' kindness.

Once more it became clear that the only way left for the oppressed Romanian people in Transylvania to gain their legitimate rights was to struggle. The broad people's masses rejected the alternative of servitude or of passively waiting for freedom and independence. They resolutely embarked upon the road of struggle to liberate themselves from the domination of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and to unite with the motherland. (loud applause)

The 1914-18 imperialist war led to profound changes in the international situation and the world balance of power. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution occurred at that time; it led to overthrowing the Tsarist Empire, the prison of peoples, as Lenin called it, and one of the most reactionary forces of that period. The October Revolution marked a momentuous event which opened up the road to liberating the peoples from foreign domination, eliminating exploitation and oppression, and building the new social system, socialism. (applause)

The defeat of the Central Powers, to whose coalition the Austrian-Hungarian Empire belonged, and the struggle of the oppressed peoples brought about the dismantling of the Habsburg Empire and the creation, on its ruins, of certain independent states, such as Czechoslovakia and Serbia. Examining the imperialist policy of colonial powers in Europe, Lenin stressed "particularly the policy of oppressing rather than liberating the nations." In defining the era of imperialism, Lenin stressed that "This period does not exclude at all various national wars, like those being waged by small countries, that are either annexed or oppressed from a national viewpoint, against imperialist powers, nor does it exclude various wide-scale national movements in Eastern Europe."

Commenting on Iunius' work, Lenin said that he judged the situation very well when he pointed out "Austria's lack of viability" and the fact that "the Habsburg monarchy is not the political organization of a bourgeois state but rather an unstable union of several cliques of social parasites" and that "the dismantling of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire is not a momemtuous history event but rather a continuation of Turkey's dismantiling, this also being a requirement of the historical process of development."

The development of events and history itself fully confirmed the political analysis of World War I by Lenin and other thinkers and politicians leading to the collapse of oppressive absolutist empires, including the elimination of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. (loud, prolonged applause) Those circumstances created new preconditions also for the liberation of the Romanians in Transylvania to achieve our national unity. In the desire to fulfill its century-old aspirations, Romania joined the powers of the Entente, which recognized the Romanian people's historic rights over the territories invaded by the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. In that war, Romania made great bloody sacrifices in the struggle against the German oppressors in order to defend its fatherland's soil.

Events, life, and history itself forcefully demonstrate the revolutionary and deeply progressive nature of eliminating absolutist empires in World War I, as well as the lawful need to form -- on their ruins -- national states of the peoples oppressed in the past.

The struggle waged by the Romanian people to establish their united national state was of a broad masss nature since it engaged the workers class, the pesantry, the intelligentšia, and the other social and political forces. The large-scale actions and demonstrations organized throughout 1918 and the mass participation in actions initiated by Romanian societies in Transylvania tellingly expressed the aspirations for freedom of that part of the Romanian people who were under Austrian-Hungarian domination. At the same time, prominent figures of the cultural and social life in Transylvania fervently struggled within actions organized abroad and in publications to assert the historic right of the Romanian people to freedom and unity within a single independent and sovereign state.

By the end of 1918, the struggle for establishing a united national state reached its final stage. On 18 October 1918 the Central Romanian National Council was set up in Transylvania as "the only forum representing the Romanian people's will," formed of six representatives of the Social Democratic Party and six representatives of the Romanian National Party. Regional and local national councils and national guards were set up throughout Transylvania as bodies of the democratic people's movement for unity which, in practice, took the general leddership into their own hands and assumed the role of leading forces of the socioeconomic activity. Similarly, upon the initiative of the CentrÂl Romanian National Council, a mass meeting was organized at which the Romanians firmly expressed their desire for unity before the whole of mankind.

On 1 December 1918 more than 100,000 workers, peasants, intellectuals, and tradesmen adopted the historic declaration in Alba Iulia -- on Horea's field -- which solemnly proclaimed "the unification of Transylvania and Banat with Romania for all time to come." (loud applause and cheers; those present stand up and for a long time chant: "Ceasescu-Romania!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

Stressing the significance of such an epoch-making event the newspaper DACIA wrote: "We knew this would happen. We were only waiting for the blessed hour when this great national act would come to light as if pushed by the power of eternal laws that govern the rising of the sun."

Historical events have forcefully demonstrated that the 1 December 1918 unification, which led to the establishment of the Romanian united national state, was the direct result of the firm struggle waged by the broadest people's masses and by all our people and it was an act fully in keeping with the inalienable right of the Romanians, with objective reality, and with the lawful requirements of social historic development.

The peace conference that concluded in 1920, 2 years after the unffication of Transylvania and Romania, did nothing but sanction an objective and concrete reality. The unification was not the result of peace negotiations, of the Trianon Treaty; it was decided on and achieved through the struggle waged by the people's masses in Transylvania and Romania back in 1918 (loud applause). The Trianon Peace Treaty had to recognize this reality imposed by the struggle waged by the entire history, the bold desire of an entire people determined -- after centuries of imposed splits -- to live united, independently, and in peace by carrying out friendly cooperation with all neighbors and all peoples in the world. (loud applause)

The unification stirred among the ranks of all Romanian people a feeling of dignity and a justified national pride and to led to great enthusiasm among the largest people's masses.

The lofty act of the unification was hailed and widely endorsed by the other nationalities in Transylvania and Banat, including certain Hungarian circles and progressive forces. In January 1919 the working people of German nationality in Transylvania unanimously decided at a meeting in Medias to recognize the unification of Transylvania and Romania and extended to the Romanian people "fraternal greetings and cordial wishes for fulfilling their national ideals." The same attitude was adopted by the Swabians in Banat, who, gathered at a congress in Timisoara in August 1919, expressed their desire for being united with Romania in the belief that the Alba Iulia decision would guarantee their ethnic and cultural development.

It is worth stressing that after the proletarian revolution in Hungary, the revolutionary leader Bela Kun, in denouncing the position of the country's former government, which, "invoking the so-called historic right, interpreted the old subjugation as a right to continue oppression," stated officially in a telegram sent to the Romanian Government that the Hungarian revolutionary government "fully recognizes all national-territorial claims" of Romania. Once the Romanian's legitimate aspiration were achieved, Bela Kun stated that "from now on peace will reign between us."

The state and government leaders in a number of countries such as the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and other country, as well as important international political figures recognized the legitimate unification of the Romanians and voiced their support for the Romanian united national state. U.S. President Woodrow Wilson wrote to the Romanian Government: "The U.S. Government is aware of the great suffering and sacrifices of the Romanian people for the cause of freedom, their sacrifices to their enemies and oppressors, and sympathizing with the spirit of national unity and with the desires of the Romanians in all parts of the country, the U.S. Government will not spare any effort to exert its influence at the right time so that the political rights and the territories stolen from the Romanian people be returned and ensured against any attack from outside." In his turn, the English Prime Minister George Lloyd stated: "Before the powers came to examine the Austrian peace, they were confronted with completed and irreversible facts. What had been foreseen a long time ago -- the downfall of the plundering Austrian-Hungarian empire -- had practically taken place, however, at an unexpected rapid pace and in a completely irreparable manner." In a message to the chief of the Romanian state, French President Raymond Poincare expressed his sympathy and support for the claims of the Romanian people and expressed his trust that peace "will sanction the victory of the Romanian people's rights and their national unity!"

The unification enjoyed the support in one form or another of all states with which Romania had diplomatic relations and it received great and favorable response on the part of numberous representatives of world public opinion. It was an impetus for the peoples to shake off foreign domination and to establish independent national states. (Loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, on reviewing the events that led up to the unification, we can assert that our national united state was forged by all the people, by the masses in all the principalities where Romanians lived, and that it was the victorious outcome of the centuries-long struggles waged by the most progressive forces, by the scholars and great thinkers of the nation, and by all our people. With the emergence of the workers class on the stage of history and the establishment of its political party, the revolutionary workers movement and the Romanian socialists played an active role in the struggle to establish the Romanian national united state. The workers saw unification as the path to a better and more just system and to a new society, free of exploiters and exploited. Hailing the unification, the Provisional Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and the General Provisional Commission of Romanian Trade Unions stressed in their declaration of February 1919: "The new Romania of today must become the socialist Romania of tomorrow." (loud and prolonged applause)

The establishment of the Romanian national united state afforded conditions for a more marked progress of the production forces and opened up prospects for the socioeconomic development of the country, and for increasing the impact and upsurge of the workers, revolutionary, progressive movement.

We must also add -- without thereby detracting in any way from the historic significance of the unification and from the importance of the politicians and statesmen who contributed to the establishment of the Romanian national united state -- that the fact that the power remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie and landowners with their class limitations, was the reason that many of the aspirations of the masses were not fulfilled. The dominating classes were intent on capitalizing on the new circumstances to consolidate their political and economic position, they increased the exploitation of the workers class and of other working people and continued to link Romania's interests to those of the big imperialist powers. This accentuated the class struggle and led to an intensified struggle of the workers class and of its party in defense of the interests of the masses and against exploitation and oppression, for new rights and democratic freedoms.

The establishment of the RCP marked a historic moment of a particular importance for the organization and unfolding of the revolutionary movement in our country, it united the workers and all progressive forces in the struggle against the policies of the exploiting classes and for defending the vital interests of the entire nation. (loud applause) Assuming and carrying further the best traditions of the people and inspired by an ardent patriotism, the communist party struggled for the masses' aspirations for well-being and progress, for justice and equality among all working people, regardless of nationality, for eliminating social and national exploitation and opression. Our party resolutely took up the defense of national independence, territorial integrity, and sovereignty of the fatherland. (loud applause and cheers; the audience stands up and chants at length: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people")

The Communist Party roused the people to armed struggle against the "Vienna diktat" which tore northern Transylvania from the body of the country. Its position encouraged the workers class, democratic organizations, political personalities, and the broad masses, including the coinhabiting nationalities to make forceful protests.

Led by the party, the people waged staunch struggles against the anti-Soviet war; they undermined the Hitlerite war machine and struggled to remove the military-fascist dictatorship and to turn the arms against Nazi Germany. The party called the army and the people to battle to liberate the entire territory of the country, together with the glorious Red Army, and to fight with all their forces in the anti-Hitlerite war until the final victory over fascist Germany. (loud applause)

The party united the national patriotic forces and successfully organized and led the national and social liberation revolution, which opened up the way for a new life for the Romanian people, it permitted thepeople to take their destinies in their own hands, to eliminate exploitation and oppression, and to build a socialist Romania, as the Romanian revolutionaries and working masses hoped at the establishment of the national united state.

It was the Communist Party that had the great honor and revolutionary mission to fulfill the ideals and aspirations of the masses of the unification period. Under socialism it was possible to fulfill thepeople's aspirations for freedom, social and national jsutice, and independence, and to secure a new and dignified life for all the people. (loud and prolonged applause, loud chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

Esteemed comrades, we celebrate today 65 years of the establishment of the Romanian national united state amid great and profound revolutioanry changes in Romanian society, when socialism has triumphed and we are building a comprehensively developed socialist society; our country and the life of all our people have radically changed. Within a historically short period of time Romania has traveled through several stages. The establishment of democratic-popular power, the transfer of time Romania has traveled through several stages; the establishment of democratic-popular power, the transfer of the entire economic and political power to the workers class allied with the working peasantry, the elimination of the exploiting classes, the implementation of the socialist revolution, the successful construction of the socialist system, and the consolidation of the socialist society and transition to building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

The noteworthy successes we obtained in developing the production forces, building a modern economy, increasing our national welath, and developing the material-technical resources of socialism have transformed Romania, within a short period of time, into an industrial-agrarian state with a modern and continually developing industry and a socialist agriculture in full process of development and modernization, with an incrasingly higher standard of material and cultural civilization. To illustrate these great change I will mention only that our industrial production is now 50 times larger and the agriculture production about 3.5 times larger than in 1938. Science, education, and culture also have markedly developed, as basic facotrs for a socialist civilization. In terms of national income, Romania is now 15 times richer than in the past.

The party chaneled the entire socioeconomic development of the country toward the supreme goal of continuously raising the living standard of the broad masses of working people, increasingly better meeting the requirements of the working people, and securing the necessary resources to permit all the people to enjoy the advantages of a modern civilization, of science and culture, and of human knowledge.

Our socialist society is a united society made up social classes and categories linked by the same interest and aspirations and working in close unity to implement the party program and to raise Romania to ever higher peaks of progress and civilization. (loud applause) The continuosly increasing unity and cohesion of all our people of all working people, regardless of nationality, constitute an enormous propelling force for building socialism and communism in Romania! (loud and prolonged applause)

We have continuously consolidated our socialist state and improved its activities; all social activities are resolutely based on the principles of scientific social leadership. Workers revolutionary democracy has been continuously expanded in all socio-economic spheres, and the effective participation of working people and of all people in leadership has intensified. The principles of workers self-management and economic and financial self-administration are being implemented, thus harmoniously blending enterprise autonomy with uniform leadership of all socioeconomic activities.

A historic achievement by our party and state is the just solution -- in the spirit of the principles of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism -- of the nationality problem. When during our country's historic development throughout the centuries people of other nationalities settled in our territory, life demonstrated that only by struggling in complete unity will working people, irrespective of nationality, be able to fulfill their interests and aspirations for well-being and happiness. Our party and state fully ensured and continue to ensure complete equality of rights for all citizens in our fatherland, irrespective of nationality, and created equal possibilities for the assertion in the political, social, and cultural activity for all the sons of our country. This means real equality of rights and a real workers revolutionary democracy. (loud applause; the audience stands up and chants for a long time: "Ceausescu and the people!")

The great achievements attained by our people in the economic and social construction forcefully demonstrate the correctness of our party's policy which, proceeding from our country's specific conditions and from the objective needs and requirements of Romania's socioeconomic development is creatively applying the general principles of socialism, of dialectical and historic materialism, and of the valid universal truths. All these successes are the result of the heroic work performed with great devotion by the workers class, the peasantry, intellectuals, and by all working people in our fatherland, irrespective of nationality, and by all our people. They excellently demonstrate the wonderful creative energy of the Romanian people who, in developing the past great traditions -- while free and complete masters of their destiny -- are consciously building their own life as they desire, their free future, and Romania's communist future. (prolonged applause and cheers; the audience stands up and loudly chants: "Ceausescu-Romania -- our esteem and pride!")

Esteemed comrades, on the 65th anniversary of the establishment of the Romanian national united state the working people in our country have achieved fruitful results in implementing the current 5-year plan provisions and the 12th congress decisions and those of the national conference. As I stressed at the recent RCP Central Committee plenum in the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan -- despite certain failings and difficulties and despite the influence of the world economic crisis -- the Romanian economy continued to develop, scoring important progress in all fields.

On the basis of results achieved thus far one can state that the provisions of this year's single plan for socioeconomic development will be fulfilled and overfulfilled, thus achieving an increase in industrial production of some 5 percent, increased labor productivity, a cutback in material consumption, and improved product quality. Despite this year's drought, in agriculture on the whole we have achieved satisfactory outputs, although not up to our possibilities. The other branches of the national economy have also developed. Thus we have been able to adopt certain measures aimed at improving the general level of civilization of all our people. We can state that all sectors of activity are resolutely implementing the targets set forth by the 12th party congress and national conference regarding the country's transition to a new development stage and the achievement of a new quality in the work and life of all our people.

For all these achievements, once again I want to extend, on this great occasion too, warm congratulations to the workers class, the peasantry, intellectuals, and all working people, irrespective of nationality, and to all our nation, together with wishes for new and increasingly greater successes in their future activity. (loud, prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu and the people!")

Esteemed Comrades, the Central Committee plenum adopted the draft plan for 1984 which envisages an important increase in industrial and agricultural production and in all the other sectors of the national economy. The rates established can be achieved and are in keeping with realities, with the material base and manpower we have available. We have a strong material-technical base, we have a powerful scientific potential, and the working people's level of qualification has improved. What is essential now is to proceed to a new quality in order to achieve the highest possible efficiency in overall economic activity.

We have also kept in mind that the 1984 and 1985 plan will ensure the implementation of the 12th party congress decisions regarding the smooth development of the forces of production throughout our country -- an essential condition to ensure equal possibilities for the assertion of all working people, for increasing the general level of civilization, and for implementing the program on self-management and self-supply.

In 1984 we must make efforts to ensure the resolute implementation of the energy and raw material program. Although a number of measures have been adopted to cut back on fuel and energy consumption, consumption this year was generally higher than last year. It is necessary for us to take measures to implement the 12th party congress decisions and those of the national conference regarding the firm cutbacks in consumption, ensuring the country's energy self-sufficiency, and more forcefully increasing our own raw material base.

The plan for next year and programs adopted place particular stress on improving the technical level and quality of all our products, increasing labor productivity so that by 1990, or even earlier, we will be up to world levels in these essential fields or even exceed them in certain respects. It is necessary for us to pay greater attention to increasing economic efficiency and to firmly eliminating losses, and increasing profitability and benefits in all socioeconomic units.

As for agriculture, on the basis of the conclusions drawn from this year's experience, let us ensure the fulfillment of the planned production under any circumstances. Let us see to it that 1948 brings about a radical improvement in the overall activity in agriculture and that we achieve the largest possible crops.

The achievement of a new quality, the improvement of the technical level, the better capitalization of raw and other materials, and increasing labor productivity are directly linked to raising the scientific and technological research work onto a higher level, constantly perfecting the educational system, and expanding the horizon of professional and technical training of all working people.

We must more firmly apply the new economic mechanism that will lead to a more forceful increase in material incentives, to a closer link between working people's remuneration and the fulfillment of the production plan. The sense of responsibility of all working collectives and of all working people must increase so that they are able to properly manage the means entrusted to them as owners, producers, and end users. Along with developing the participation of the masses of working people in leading production units and all fields of social life, we must strengthen order and discipline at the work place and exactingness in administering the society's funds and assets.

Economic development requirements make it necessary for us to take measures to fulfill export production under most favorable conditions in terms of the highest quality and technical level. We struggle to intensify cooperation within CEMA, to increase its role in meeting the development requirements of its member-countries, and in their more rapid socioeconomic progress. We will also expand cooperation with the other countries both in the area of material production and in science and technology.

We must act with great determination to resolutely implement the measures aimed at increasing wages and at improving the living standard of all working people, and aimed at implementing the program on the people's self-supply under favorable conditions.

Let us develop revolutionary, workers democracy even more by constantly keeping in mind that our socialist and communist society is being built by the people and for the people, and that everything that is being achieved in our free and dignified fatherland must serve the people, development, and their well-being and happiness. (loud applause; long chants of "Ceausescu and the people!") It is necessary for us to continue to act to improve the organizational framework of the socioeconomic leadership activity in keeping with the requirements of the country's current development stage.

In the interest of the country's progress and the people's well-being, let us show most determined intransigence against those who violate the country's laws; let us take firm measures to defend socialist property, the property of all our people, and cooperative property -- the principal condition for constantly developing the forces of production and improving well-being -- and to defend the wealth and tranquility of all our people. We will continue to pay great attention to improving the activity performed by the state bodies, the justice bodies and prosecutor's office, and to firmly defending socialist legality, so that no one will be punished unjustly and also so that no one will be deprived of a just trial if, through anti-social actions, he harms the general interests of the people and fatherland, of the cause of socialism and the country's independence. (loud applause)

In the current extremely difficult international conditions, we have to take the necessary measures to strengthen the country's defense capacity, to improve the political training and combat capability of the armed forces, so that they are able at any time to fulfill their sacred duty toward the cause of the people's freedom, toward the cause of socialism, and Romania's independence and sovereignty. (loud applause; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!")

The fulfillment, under favorable conditions, of the great targets confronting us requires a constant improvement of the activity performed by all party bodies and organizations and an increased leading role of the party in all areas of the socio-economic activity. At the same time, let us carry out an increasingly intensive and broad ideological-political and educational-cultural activity by making use of all the means we have to shape the new man in the spirit of the principles of socialist ethics and equity and of revolutionary humanism.

The implementation of the 12th party congress decisions and those of the national conference, the constant development of the national economy, and constant improvement of our socialist society's well-being and civilization, require strengthening the unity of all working people, irrespective of nationality, and of all our people around the party, the proven leader of our nation on the road to socialism and communism. (loud applause, cheers; chants: Ceausescu-RCP!") Let us celebrate the anniversary of this great event of establishing the Romanian national united state by uniting all our people's creative energy in order to resolutely implement the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and on our fatherland's progress toward the bright peaks of communism.

Let us do all we can to ensure our wonderful people an increasingly dignified and free life, and a more and more happy life in the most advanced society, and an equal life among the ranks of the free nations in the world. (loud, prolonged applause; long chants: "Ceausescu and the people!")

Esteemed comrades, in the international arena Romania is carrying out consistent and active actions for peace, national independence, and cooperation with all the states of the world, regardless of social system. Due to this policy -- which is fully in keeping with the fatherland's supreme interests -- our country has earned well-deserved international prestige and has friends throughout the world. (applause)

The impelmentation of the party program of socioeconomic development and of raising the level of civilization of our people requires active participation in the international division of labor and in material and cultural exchanges. Only in conditions of peace and cooperation can Romania -- like all the other countries -- focus its forces on its socioeconomic development and on raising material and cultural standards. All our relations with other states have been and are firmly anchored in the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, and nonrecourse to the threat and use of force. We believe that these are the only principles that can ensure peace and equal cooperation among all nations. It is now more necessary than ever to resolutely secure each people's right to independently choose their path of socioeconomic development, without any foreign interference. (applause)

In recent years new problems and conflicts have been emerging in the world. They have seriously affected international relations. there have been many manifestations of the policy of force, including military actions designed to consolidate and redivide zones of influence, to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, and to violate the independence and sovereignty of other nations. The arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, has assumed unprecedented scope. This has increased the danger of a new world war and of nuclear catastrophe. Never before in its long history has mankind been in such a grave situation, when life itself on our planet is in jeopardy. The situation now is such that halting the arms race and beginning disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and ensuring peace have become the fundamental issue of our times. (applause, chants of "Ceausescu-peace")

In the past few days certain events have considerably worsened the situation in Europe and in the world. Deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in some European countries has begun. In response, the Soviet Union has withdrawn from the Geneva negotiations and has announced its intention to deploy new missiles on the territory of certain European countries and in other areas. All this faces Europe and the entire world with a historic responsibility for the existence of the peoples and for life on our planet. We cannot fatalistically accept the deployment of the new missiles. Noone has a right to act only in accordance with his own will and to endanger the life and existence of the peoples and our planet. There can be no justification for escalating the nuclear arms race. We fully understand the concern of the socialist countries and of the Soviet Union about the deployment of the new intermediate-range missiles in Europe. We also understand the concern of certain Western countries about the existence of Soviet intermediate-range missiles. However, we believe that proceeding from these realities, we must endeavor not to bring and deploy more missiles in Europe, but to remove the existing missiles and to build a Europe free of all nuclear weapons; we must endeavor to generally reduce armaments. This is in the interests of all the peoples, both socialist and capitalist, and of all mankind. (applause, chants)

Concerned about this build-up of means of nuclear destruction in Europe, we must strive not for stockpiling more arms, which can only add to the danger of destruction, but must instead consider what can be done to reduce the existing weapons and to scrap them. This is the fundamental problem of our times. Such a course of action will meet the aspirations of the European peoples and of all mankind. (applause)

As I have said on other occasions, too, it is now no secret that currently many states have the capability of producing or procuring nuclear weapons. A further escalation of the arms race will not increase people's security and will not create conditions for peace; on the contrary, the danger of a nuclear world war and of a catastrophe that will mean the end of our planet is growing day by day. That is why we cannot accept, and why we believe that we must do everything possible, together with all the European nations, to block the course of recent events toward the precipice. Plans to deploy new U.S. missiles in Europe, and the measures adopted by the Soviet Union in response to that must be cancelled. The European peoples are firmly in favor of resuming the Geneva negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, with a view to reaching an agreement that can ensure a balance of forces between the two sides at the lowest possible arms level, an agreement that will cancel the deployment of new intermediate-range missiles in Europe and will bring about the removal and scrapping of the existing missiles.

The recent declaration of the party-state bodies of the Socialist Republic of Romania presented our country's position as well as certain proposals along this line. I will not now repeat them. Similarly, several states and various parties and statesmen have advanced many proposals that can be taken as a point of departure for an equitable agreement between the two sides. In point of fact, it has been stated that proposals that can lead to agreement are already on the table of the Geneva negotiations. If such proposals exist, if real possibilities exist for an agreement, which has the deployment of new missiles begun, thus causing the negotiations to break down and incuring measures in response, instead of steps being taken to continue the negotiations and to postpone the deployment of the new missiles until an appropriate and equitable agreement can be reached?

From this great festive meeting we want to once again appeal to the leaders of the Soviet Union and of the United States of American to take into consideration the wishes of the peoples of the world and to halt the implementation of the measures taken or announced, and resume negotiations: We appeal to them to do everything possible to achieve a just agreement capable to halting the deployment of the new missiles and removing and scrapping the existing ones, thus paving the way for completely eliminating all nuclear weapons from Europe. (chants: "Ceausescu-Peace")

One should not intensify propaganda actions to justify the new measures, which increase the danger of war; what is now required are concrete actions to put an end to this situation, to return to the previous situation, and to resume negotiations. All states should intensify efforts along these lines. This is how one should intensify the propaganda activity, not to justify the arms race, but rather to explain to both public opinion and the peoples why the arms race should be halted and all forces be pooled together to defend peace on our planet. (applause, cheers)

In these very serious circumstances, it is necessary now more than ever before to ensure that all states, peoples, and all those who love life unite their efforts and resolutely work to halt the new arms race and defend the supreme rights of men and peoples to existence, life, freedom, and peace. Let us join forces and halt the course toward nuclear catastrophe and mankind's destruction. Generally speaking, Romania firmly speaks out for intensifying the struggle against arms, for overall disarmament, and for a world without weapons, a world of peace and equal cooperation between all nations.

In this spirit, Romania is determined to actively participate in the activity of all European and international disarmament and peace bodies. We will participate in the Stockholm conference on trust and disarmament scheduled for the beginning of next year with the desire to make our utmost contribution to strengthening trust and cooperation, proceeding to disarmament in Europe, attaining a united Europe without nuclear weapons, and securing peace and cooperation between all nations, regardless of social system.

Romania is carrying out a broad international activity to develop comprehensive cooperation in the Balkans, to find negotiated solutions to all problems still existing between certain countries in this region, and to turn the Balkans into an area of good-neighborliness, peace and cooperation, without nuclear weapons or foreign military bases. We also advocate the establishment of such nuclear-free zones in the north of Europe and other parts of Europe and the world.

Romania consistently advocates a peaceful, negotiated resolution of all contentious problems between states. We believe that no matter how long and difficult such negotiations may be, they are the only alternative to the policy of war, which causes huge human and material losses to the peoples and leads to aggravating the international situation and increasing the danger of a new world war.

As a developing socialist country, Romania actively participates in the struggle to eliminate underdevelopment and attain a new international economic order. In the current circumstances, we believe that the developing countries should increasingly strengthen their solidarity and cooperation and show greater unity in adopting a joint strategy in negotiations with the developed countries and in resolving certain problems of socioeconomic development with their own forces.

Resolution of the great international problems requires the active and equal participation of all states, regardless of size of social system. It is particularly important to ensure that the small and medium-sized countries as well as the developing and nonaligned states, which represent the great majority of the world population, actively participate in democratically resolving all problems, in the interest of each nation and to the benefit of socioeconomic development, peace, and independence of all peoples. (applause)

It is also necessary to increase the role of the United Nations and other international bodies in promoting a policy of detente, cooperation, and peace and resolving all international problems solely through negotiations. Now, on the 65th anniversary of the creation of our united national state, I would like to reiterate the Romanian people's determination to broadly develop cooperation with all socialist countries by paying particular attention to good relations with all our neighbors. We hope that strengthening the cooperation and solidarity of socialist countries and overcoming certain differences will represent in the current international situation a very important factor in asserting the principles and increasing the prestige of socialism and in promoting the policy of international peace and cooperation.

We will also develop relations with the developing countries and the nonaligned states, with the belief that this is an important element of the struggle for socioeconomic progress, peace, and a better and more just world. At the same time, we will further expand relations with the developed capitalist countries and all states, regardless of social system, in the spirit of principles of peaceful coexistence. We are fully convinced that broad international cooperation between all states is the only alternative and way to ensure bright prospects of peace to mankind as well as the possibility to concentrate human and material forces for socioeconomic development, for the progress of science and culture, and for raising all people's well-being.

Let us strengthen cooperation in overcoming economic difficulties and the economic crisis by utilizing the wonderful achievements of science and human knowledge of peaceful purposes alone, for the well-being and happiness of peoples, and for their independence and sovereignty. (applause)

We again reiterate the determination of the RCP to strengthen cooperation and solidarity with all communist and workers parties, with socialist and social-democratic parties, with other democratic, progressive, and anti-imperialist parties and forces everywhere. We believe that strengthening this cooperation and solidafity is a historical requirement and meets the aspirations for peace, friendship, progress, and cooperation of all nations in the world. (applause)

It is necessary more than ever before to strengthen solidarity and cooperation between all progressive and anti-imperialist forces and all peoples advocating peace and cooperation. We are fully convinced that it is within the power of peoples -- by acting in full unity and in a spirit of responsibility for the existence and life of our planet -- to halt the course of events toward catastrophe and precipice, ensure the triumph of reason, bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear, and ensure the peace, freedom and independence of each people, as well as man's right to existence and life. (applause, cheers)

From the rostrum of the great festive meeting devoted to the union and the creation of the united Romanian national state, I again solemnly reiterate the firm desire of Socialist Romania and all our people to consistently work also in the future to develop solidarity and cooperation with all peoples, with revolutionary, progressive, democratic, and anti-imperalist forces everywhere, and to continue to untiringly work to ensure the triumph of the peoples' ideals of freedom and independence, bring about disarmament, promote the cause of peace and cooperation among all nations, and create a better and more just world of equal nations on our planet. (applause, cheers)

Esteemed Comrades, citizens of socialist Romania, on the 65th anniversary of the establishment of the Romanian national united state I call on you to take a solemn oath to devote all our working energies to the cause of Socialist Romania's development and prosperity and to its victorious progress along the bright path of socialism toward the high peaks of communist civilization! (loud cheers, prolonged applause; the audience, standing, chants: "Ceausescu and the people!")

Let us resolutely pledge to do everything possible to ensure optimal implementation of the socioeconomic plan for this year and the entire 5-year Plan, thus permitting Romania's transition to a new stage of development and raising the people's standard of civilization and well-being!

Let us come to the 40th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation next year with new and great victories in all areas! (loud applause)

Let us come to the 13th party congress next year with new achievements in socioeconomic development and in raising our fatherland to new peaks of progress and civilization! (applause and cheers; lengthy chanting of "Ceausescu-RCP!")

Let us solemnly pledge to do everything possible to continuously strengthen our socialist fatherland, to expand workers revolutionary democracy, to continously increase the material and cultural well-being of the peoples, and to consolidate Romania's national independence and sovereignty' (loud cheers; lengthy chanting of "Ceausescu and the people!")

Unification was brought by the struggle of centuries
Of the brave and proud Romanian people
Unity is the safeguard for great victories
In our communist future
Once again, comrades, we will pledge
To stay united forever in beliefs and thought
United we will defend what is holiest to us
The people, communism, and peace on earth! (loud cheers and applause; the audience, standing, chants at length: "Ceasescu, Romania -- our esteem and pride!")

Let us pledge to always work, in all circumstances, to continuously strengthen the unity of all our people within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and led by the RCP, the leading political force of our nation; let us pledge to work and struggle with all our might to secure for Romania a dignified place among the nations of the world! (loud applause and cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!")

Let us solemnly pledge to do everything possible to continuously strengthen our cooperation and solidarity with the socialist countries and with all states in the world, regardless of social system, and to steadfastly struggle for peace, independence, and cooperation with all the nations! (loud and prolonged cheers, applause; chants of "Ceausescu-Peace!")

Long live and prosper for ever our beloved free and independent fatherland -- the Socialist Republic of Romania! (loud cheers; prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu, Romania -- our esteem and pride!") Long live our heroic people, victorious builder of socialism and communism on Romanian soil! (loud cheers; prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu and the people!") Long live the RCP, the tested organizer and leader of our nation along the path of socialism, communism, peace, and cooperation! (loud applause and cheers, chants of "Ceausescu - RCP!") Long live solidarity and cooperation with all progressive peoples and forces! Long live peace throughout the world! (loud applause and cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-peace!" and "Ceausescu, Romania -- our esteem and pride!")

In an enthusiastic atmosphere of ardent patriotism the participants in the festive meeting marking the 65th anniversary of the Romanian national united state rousingly express the unity of all the fatherland's sons around the party and its secretary general, and the firm and unwavering determination of all our people to optimally implement the great objectives of the 12th congress and of the party national conference, and to consistently implement our party-state domestic and foreign policies. (The audience cheers minutes on end for the RCP and for its secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.)

CEAUSESCU CABLES MARKOVIC ON SFRY NATIONAL DAY

AU010949 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Nov 83 p 6

[Text] To Comrade Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Belgrade: On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, all Romanian Communists, and on my own behalf, I would like to extend cordial congratulations to you, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and to all Communists and working people in your country on the SFRY's national day. I also want to extend best wishes for new successes in your activity devoted to Socialist Yugoslavia's flourishing and prosperity. We value the evolution of relations between the RCP and the LCY and between Romania and Yugoslavia in all fields, and are determined to act to constantly strengthen friendship, solidarity, and cooperation at various levels between our parties and countries in conformity with the basic aspirations of the Romanian and Yugoslav peoples and in the interest of the cause of socialism, understanding, and peace in the world. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general.

SUNDIC COMMENTS ON SYRIAN DOWNING OF U.S. PLANES

LD051948 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] You heard in the news how things are developing in the latest and perhaps most difficult moments of the Lebanon crisis. We are discussing this too in the topical foreign policy commentary. The predominating conviction in the world is that the recently signed U.S.-Israeli agreement on military cooperation is the first step toward a bloc confrontation and settling of accounts with Syria. The crisis in the Near East is assuming dimensions such that no one, particularly the nonaligned countries, can remain indifferent to it. Milika Sundic comments:

While Yasir 'Arafat and his 4,000 fighters prepare to leave the Lebanese town of Tripoli by ship under UN protection, a fresh exacerbation of the situation has occurred in and around Lebanon, which may turn into an American-Israeli settling of accounts with Syria. The two or three American aircraft shot down in the so-called act of revenge are just a prelude to what might follow. After the agreement recently signed on Israeli-American military cooperation it was clear to everyone that there will be no peace in Lebanon and around it if Washington and Tel Aviv dictate thus. As things stand at present, Reagan and Yizhaq Shamir came to an agreement on precisely this, without laying any definite obligations on Israel to withdraw from the occupied part of Lebanese territory.

The U.S. had to reckon on Syria retaliating to the punitive air force expedition, but, to judge by all events, it underestimated the effectiveness of the Syrian response. This could reinforce U.S. assertions about the increasing Soviet presence in the Near East, that is, in Syria, but the incident that has occured should never be permitted to serve as a justification for new attacks on Syrian positions. In any case, even if everything that is said about the Soviet presence in the Near East is accurate, this can under no circumstances be regarded as a reason warranting a military settling of accounts with Syria, or as a pretext to step up the bloc confrontation in that part of the world -- confrontation which, objectively speaking, is currently being stirred up by the United States and Israel.

Syria has announced through its defense minister that it will repay any Israeli-American action in kind, but it has as yet never mentioned any reliance upon the Soviet Union, although the appropriate cooperation and mutual assistance agreement exists between the two countries -- an agreement similar to that between the Soviet Union and Iraq. Regardless of this, the current exacerbation of the crisis in the Near and Middle East in no circumstances suits Moscow. Moscow, it seems, will do everything possible to prevent the outbreak of a new war in that part of the world. Reasons for this exist: Moscow is preoccupied at the moment with the development of the situation in Europe, which is one of the main topics of the current session of the Warsaw Pact defense ministers in Sofia. However, since the new bloc confrontation on European soil must find an opening somewhere, there is a great danger that this might be the Near and Middle East. Given that the American military presence is the dominant one in that region, the world public rightly fears that behind the incident in Lebanese air space lies the intention to eject Syria from Lebanon by a joint Israeli-American action, which could be carried over into Syrian territory as well.

The UN Security Council has found a solution for the honorable withdrawal of Yasir 'Arafat and his fighters from Lebanon. However, since this resolves nothing, the Security Council should take steps as soon as possible to prevent the outbreak of a new war in the Near East. The first prerequisite for this is that the great powers in no way contribute toward this by their immoderate actions.

EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER RECEIVES AMBASSADOR

LD052109 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1902 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Cairo, 5 Dec (TANJUG) -- Kamal Hasan 'Ali, Egypt's deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, today received Yugoslav Ambassador to Egypt Lazar Zivulj. During their lengthy talk they discussed the strategic agreement between the United States and Israel, and the latest events in Lebanon.

The two sides expressed concern about the possible consequences of the latest events in Lebanon.

The Egyptian foreign minister reiterated Cairo's official stand as presented by President Mubarak 2 days ago, that the strategic agreement between Washington and Tel Aviv could disrupt the balance in the Middle East and be a great obstacle to the peace process in the region.

SPILJAK DISCUSSES BUDGET AT MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE

LD060309 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2015 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Text] Svetozarevo, 5 Dec (TANJUG) -- During this visit to Svetozarevo I saw that you are facing current problems, difficult economic situation and a fall in production. This was said, among other things, by Mika Spiljak at the enlarged session of the Svetozarevo LC Muncipal Committee. The session discussed implementation of the conclusions of the 10th LCY Central Committee session and the 12th LC of Serbia Central session.

Views were expressed here that we are slow in coming to an agreement on the implementation of the stablization program and that we are slow in devising mechanisms, and instruments for what we agreed on. There are objective difficulties in this respect, but we managed to come to an understanding.

The draft budget for next year has been drawn up in several variants; this means that it is not easy compiling the Federal budget in such a way that all its users are satisfied. The situation with the foreign currency system and with prices is the same.

Regardless of stormy discussions -- and through information media we totally opened up to the public -- we are arriving at the conclusion that agreed stands have to be resolved gradually. All the questions are undergoing examination in the Federal Executive Council and in the Federal Assembly. We should not be disappointed because of stormy discussions in delegate bodies.

Our country has a 19.5 billion dollar debt which we shall return together with high rates of interest. We must sustain the attained level of annual production and return our debts along with the interest. In the foreign currency accounts of our citizens we now have 9 billion dollars -- said Spiljak -- and these resources are important for the further development of our economy. Our overall problems are complex and we shall overcome them with better organization of work, higher production and higher exports. Our balance of payments deficit this year will be considerably lower than expected.

Mika Spiljak also spoke of the international situation and on the role of our country in the policy of nonalignment.

Spiljak ended his one-day visit to Svetozarevo after the meeting of the municipal committee.

PRESIDIUM'S BELOVSKI CRITICIZES PRESS REPORTING

AU041937 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 83 p 2

[Report on interview given by Dimce Belovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium to KOMUNIST -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] In the analyses of the implementation of the conclusions of the Sixth and Tenth LCY Central Committee sessions, along with the basic assessment that positive trends have been noticed in the press and in other information media since these LC meetings, there have also been many pronounced objections and even sharp criticism. True, in this connection, it is not forgotten to stress that most of the press has followed comprehensively and in an engaged manner our overall development and has made a contribution to it with its articles. There can be no doubt this is positive.

In a part of the press, and sometimes even in the entire press, tendencies of disparaging the elementary and historically recognized values in our country appear. In some articles there are calls for authorities who do not really exist in our country outside the collective leading bodies, words of centralism are sounded, and the demand is heard that self-management should exist outside the republics and provinces, and so forth. Along with this, a loyal and obedient "reliance" on one's own leader or one's own circle appears, a circle described nicely, despite bad reports about other circles; "their" nationalism, bureaucracy, technocratism, and so forth are attacked, while "one's own" is only faintly noticed. This kind of writing is ordinary bickering in the style "who will get whom!" On such occasions distances and criteria are lost and one gets into troubled waters from which anything may come to the surface. Editorial policy is thus ruled out and loses its given sense because it does not exist as a framework of a responsible judgment but it is slowly reduced to something that is contrary and excessive, allowing also the appearance of tendencies of partnership. There are even occurrences that the press is losing its basic characteristic of public information media and that it becomes a "power above the society," or even an "authorized observer and critic."

Consistent Action

These phenomena are particularly noticeable in historiography where -- and this must be clearly said -- efforts are sometimes being made to disparage or completely to disavow our revolution, the historic role of Comrade Tito and of his other fellow fighters, primarily Edvard Kardelj. It is interesting that the press treats speeches differently, particularly speeches of public and political workers. Some speeches are treated apologetically and are given great prominence, other speeches are treated critically and in a rejecting manner. The reaction of a part of the press to the speech in Benakovac by the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Croatia is also characteristic. The part of the press reacted to the speech in an affair-like manner and manipulated it, from postiions which -- to put it most mildly -- bypass the theses and concept of the book by V. Terzic which certainly deserve a broader scientific and political criticism. In recent weeks, certain newspapers have been full of radical, even quite specific demands for a radical change of the political systems, despite the fact that the conclusions of the 10th LCY Central Committee Session state that in the discussions on the functioning of the political system Communists will "energetically oppose attempts aimed at abandoning the orientations and the institutional solutions laid down in the Constitution." Urgent amendments to the Constitution are also demanded. The real initiatives of the LC in connection with the further development of the political system made at the 12th congress and at sessions of the LCY organs can be poorly recognized in the press. There is even less support for these initiatives.

What should be done? It is obvious that a stubborn and consistent action is necessary to overcome these phenomena by appropriate measures and efforts in the press itself and in the editorial and party collectives. Namely, it has been noted that a certain extent of alienation of the editorial boards, chief editors, and other people in the press from the process of forming and developing the policy and strategy of development exists.

THREE 'IRREDENTISTS' SENTENCED IN KOSOVO

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[Text] Pristina, December 5 (TANJUG) -- Three members of an underground irredentist organization were sentenced to between two and seven years in prison in Pristina, capital of the Province of Kosovo, southern Yugoslavia, today (Monday).

The three convicts are students, Ethnic Albanians and members of the "Movement for an Albanian Republic in Yugoslavia." They were charged with organizing nationalist demonstrations, handing out irredentist propaganda material and with other illegal tasks.

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO UPPER VOLTA -- Ouagadougou 5 Dec (TANJUG) -- Aleksandar Psoncak, the new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Upper Volta, has presented his credentials to Captain Thomas Sankara, president of the Republic of Upper Volta. In accordance with Volta protocol, the presentation of credentials took place in the village of Laye, about 40 km from the capital city of Ouagadougou. Following the presentation, Ambassador Psoncak held a brief conversation with Captain Thomas Sankara, who expressed his pleasure over the fact that the presentation of credentials coincided with the 40th anniversary of the formation of the new Yugoslavia. Sankara also expressed the hope that Yugoslav-Volta relations, which up to now have been marked by friendship and proximity of views on many issues, would develop even more rapidly and successfully in the interest of the two nonaligned and friendly countries. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0922 GMT 5 Dec 83 LD]